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***Religion and Cultural
Conservatism in Lycia:
Xanthos and the Letoon***



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Abstract:

In Lycia, Xanthos and its main sanctuary, the Letoon, have throughout centuries kept some very particular features which have survived intense cultural upheavals and influences both Persian and Greeks. The infrastructures and shape of the Letoon indicates that there is more to the sanctuary's rituals and architecture than normalised Greek divinities and temples.

Lycia, following the Persian invasion in the 540s, remained a remote region of the empire and benefited from an autonomous status. Nevertheless the outside contacts and cultural exchanges multiplied and intensified, especially with the Persian ruling class, but also with the Greeks who took an increasing part into the trade and artistic influence of Lycia. The most important city of the region, Xanthos was the focus of the Persian presence in Lycia but also at the spearhead of Hellenic influence in western Lycia. This underlying Greek presence became ever more pregnant under the rule of the last dynasts of Xanthos at the turn of the fourth century and under the rule of the Carian satraps under the power of whom Lycia was put in the 360s. The Hellenistic period only confirm the prior trend. To begin with, we are trying to define how the Persians had an impact on the Lycian culture and conclude that it was a great influential force but stayed somewhat limited to the higher classes of the Xanthian society. The parallel with the Greek influence is contrasting. The arrival of Greek trends was more insidious but also more widespread to the lower classes of society and lasted longer. We will conclude that none of those influences were imposed but rather chosen by the Xanthian society. We will continue by trying to understand how those cultural manifestations affected local religious beliefs. By exposing the successive evolutions of the Letoon and of the divinities residing here, we will see that the syncretic divinities of the Letoon kept a lot of their ancestral attributes and places of worship are keeping track with their sacred past. In this process we are trying to show that religion holds a peculiar place in a nation or a city's culture. In this attempt we are concluding that religion is the most stable aspect of a local culture and is the recipient for the safeguard of a nation's identity.

I declare that the following work is mine and that I have composed it alone under the supervision of Pr Andrew Erskine and Dr Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones. It does not include any previously submitted works for any other degree. I declare to have followed the guidelines of the University of Edinburgh and of the School of History, Classics and Archaeology for the submission of a PhD thesis.

Marc Megrelis

81,634 words

Preface:

In this thesis the attempt is to do an interdisciplinary comparative study of the culture and religion of Xanthos and to isolate religion as the main factor and recipient of cultural conservatism. From this perspective I use primary and secondary sources as well as evidence from outside Xanthos to parallel evolutions in our Xanthian materials to other sites where studies have already gone further into describing cultural phenomena.

In my previous research up to this point, I have been confronted with a number of difficulties mostly related to the lack of decisive materials. I had focused my attention on Cilicia. My Maîtrise dissertation in Paris was a monography on Tarsus and religious evolution was one of the great interests of mine, while my MPhil dissertation in Cambridge was concentrated on the main divinities of Cilicia, Aspera and Tracheia. This region presents a number of interesting situations in which native divinities and local culture were replaced by foreign ones without losing the core substance of what were the native culture and cults, or so I theorised. Unfortunately none of the cases could offer such a wide spectrum of evidence as Xanthos does. Therefore none of my hypotheses were conclusive enough for my liking. Xanthos provides a well-documented case of culture and religion which are ever-changing due to frequent political changes. There the evidence and its analysis is rich and growing thanks to the extensive and yearly excavations. It therefore gives us the opportunity to have better understanding of the phenomena in action in an evolving Anatolian culture in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The knowledge of the sites has been enhanced by two trips to Xanthos during the length of this PhD and therefore some of the pictures added are mine.

I would also like to apologise to the readers of this thesis for the awkwardness of my English. I have been in the UK for the last six years, unfortunately, to add to my inadequacies, most of my readings were in French and I have had difficulties separating the two languages. Despite the numerous advices I have received from my PhD supervisors, Pr. Andrew Erskine and Dr. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, the readers might still find it arduous to read and I sincerely hope it will not impede my ability to put arguments through.

As well as being grateful to Andrew for his constant reminders of my goals, his well-needed advice and his support when the end of the tunnel seemed quite far, I would like to thank again Dr. Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, Dr. Sandra Bingham and Dr. Ulf-Dietrich Schoop for their advice and corrections. I would like also to thank Jean-Marie Bertrand whose guidance was well-needed. Without them I would never have been able to finish this thesis. I would like to thank my fellow PhD student John Horton for his corrections. Thank you to all the people who showed me support and understanding, friends or family.

NB-During the course of this thesis, if the era of the dates is not mentioned, the reader should assume they are before the Christian era.

Table of Contents:

- **Introduction, p.**
 - i- The excavations in Xanthos and the Letoon: two combined sites
 - ii- ii-Bibliography
 - iii- iii-Materials and sources
 - iv- Geography
 - v- v-Origins and identity
 - vi- vi-The major phases of the Letoon
 - vii- vii-Ethnicity and origins of the Lycians
 - viii- viii-The native divinities
 - ix- ix- Adaptation of Foreign religions to political and cultural changes
- **Chapter 1: The Letoon and the Lycian identity: an early history, p.**
 - i- The first traces of settlements: archaic *Arnna* at the spearhead of Lycian urbanisation, p.
 - ii- The division of roles between the Letoon and Xanthos, p.
 - iii- *Eni mahanahi (annis massanassis), eni qlahi ebiyehi* : the rise of the Letoon as the Lycian religious centre, p.
 - iv- The Persian invasion and the role of the Xanthians: already a people apart in Lycia, p.
- **Chapter 2: The dynasty and the Achaemenidisation of the Xanthian society, p.**
 - i- The Dynasts and the political institutions of the Lycian City, p.
 - ii- Achaemenidisation of occupied society: the example of Sardis and its comparison with Xanthos, p.
 - iii- Arbinas and the last dynasts of Xanthos, p.
- **Chapter 3: The transition towards the Hellenistic period: Perikles of Limyra, the satrapal era and the Trilingual, p.**
 - i- Perikles of Limyra, the change of regime in Lycia and the growing Hellenic influence in the fourth century, p.
 - ii- The Trilingual Stele and its significance for Lycian society and status within the Persian empire, p.
 - iii- The Letoon as a regional focal point, p.
 - iv- Persian and Greek migrations and the onomastics in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, p.

- **Chapter 4: the progressive acculturation of Xanthos and the Letoon: the cultural Greek and Persian elements, p.**
 - i- The Achaemenids and the Xanthian culture and religion, p.
 - ii- The Greco-Persian artefacts of Xanthos, p.
 - iii- The Greek idea of Lycia and the Lycian perception of Greek culture, p.
 - iv- The Letoon, the successive developments and adjustments of the sanctuary, p.
 - v- The new role of the Letoon, a Lycian symbolic regional centre, p.
- **Chapter 5: The divinities of the Letoon: evolutions and developments, p.**
 - i- Leto of Xanthos, the great Lycian Mother-Goddess and its spring, p.
 - ii- Artemis of Xanthos and of the Letoon, p.
 - iii- Apollo, p.
- **Conclusion, p.**
- **Image Appendix, p.**
- **Bibliography, p.**

List of Illustrations (in the Appendix):

Figure 1: Map of Ancient Lycia

Fig. 2: Map of Ancient Lycia with reliefs

Fig.3: The ‘Inscribed Pillar’

Fig.4 : The Letoon seen from the south

Fig. 5 : Map of the site of Xanthos from the archaeological team (as of the 2009 excavations plans)

Fig. 6 : One of the four reliefs of the Harpy tomb, now at the British Museum

Fig. 7 : Coin of Kuprilli (SNG Von Aulock 8479)

Fig. 9 : The two larger sides of the Trilingual stele with the Lycian and Greek versions

Fig. 10 : Kherei’s coin from Pinara (425-400 BC) where the bust of the dynast appears in tiara

Fig. 11 : The site of the Letoon

Fig. 12 : Mosaic inside the temple of Apollo

Fig. 13 : The temple of Leto

Fig. 14 : The Nymphaeum of the Letoon

Fig. 15 : One of the reliefs of the Harpy Tomb in the British Museum

Fig. 16 : The Harpy Tomb in Xanthos with the casts of the original reliefs now in the British Museum

Fig. 17 : The so-called ‘Dancing Women’ sarcophagus

Fig. 18 : The Nereid Monument of Xanthos (now in the British Museum)

Fig. 19 : Temple of Artemis in the Letoon

Fig. 20 : The temple of Apollo between the temple of Artemis and the adjusted hill

Fig. 21 : The temple of Apollo in the Letoon

Fig. 22 : Second Century BC coin of the Lycian League in Xanthos, with figure of Apollo on the obverse, with the cithara on the other side which became the common pattern of the League (167-81 BC): TROXELL, Hyla, 1982, *The coinage of the Lycian League*, New York, p.41-5 ; the mint of Xanthos stops production in 81 BC)

Timeline:

BC

546	Persian invasion; destruction and reconstruction of the city; start of the Persian occupation and of the Dynastic Period
c. 400	Erection of the Inscribed Pillar
c. 390	Start of the reign of Arbinas over western Lycia ; reconstruction of the Letoon
c. 370s-360	Pericles of Limyra controls western Lycia ; at his death the Hekatomnid satraps take control of the province; start of the Satrapal Era
c. 350s	Erection of the Letoon's Trilingual
334-333	Invasion of Anatolia, and Lycia, by Alexander the Great; start of the Hellenistic era
Late 3 rd c.	Creation of the Lycian Koinon
188	Battle of Magnesia
175-150	Building of the Hellenistic temples
168	Lycia under Roman rule

Introduction:

In this thesis, our goal is to show, through the significant example of Xanthos, that throughout the Classical and early Hellenistic periods, the Anatolian and Near-Eastern local religions have been remarkably resilient in safeguarding some of their ancestral and traditional aspects, and so despite an evident flexibility towards assimilating mainly Greek divinities, myths and symbols. So why Xanthos? Because the site has been for decades excavated, the indigenous language widely deciphered and therefore we have much evidence to try building an argument in showing that this city is a telling example of such 'flexible conservatism' of local religions. Therefore, for those communities, the local sanctuaries and temples were, in times of deep and rapid cultural and political changes, the favoured refuges for the indigenous beliefs and way of life. In doing this, we sincerely hope of contributing to the study of the evolution of ancient religions within a cultural context.

By the end of the fourth century BC Xanthos and the region it belongs to, Lycia, had become part of the Greek world, at least politically speaking. Nevertheless, culturally, changes in the Lycian way of life, art and religion had started to take place earlier. Since the Persian invasion in the middle of the sixth century, Lycia had opened up to a much wider world in which it was exposed to a greater range of cultural and commercial exchanges. In this period Xanthos played a major role as the main seat of Persian power and influence in the region but also as the economic and political powerhouse of at least the Xanthos' valley and its environs. Its sanctuary, which later became the Letoon when at some point between the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third century the goddess Leto was assimilated to the native Mother-Goddess at this site, was already a focal point of Lycian religion at the beginning of Persian rule in the 540s but went on to become the leading religious site in the region. Along with its parent city Xanthos, it evolved in response to the numerous political events which shaped Lycia not only during the two centuries of Persian rule but also in the Hellenistic period right up to the moment when the Romans took direct control of the region after an embassy of the Lycians was sent to Rome to ask for the end of their Rhodian 'servitude' in 178 BC and the direct control of the region in 168 BC.¹ This thesis aims to explore the political upheavals of Lycia in order to understand the transformations that took place within Xanthian culture, with a particular goal of setting religious change within the broader cultural context. In doing so we will show that the Xanthian divinities followed the general evolutions of the Xanthian culture but managed to keep a lot of their ancestral traits during a very long period of time, and that the temples of the Letoon were consciously being kept as the witnesses of the ancient cults. Repositioning this particular state of religious

¹ Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 41.6.

affairs within the concept of cultural impetus will enable us to understand how religion was used as a reminder of local identity and remembrance in times when cultural impetus was shifting and native culture became more and more diluted into a more and more uniform world. The Xanthian/Lycian example provides a good example of a remote region which progressively became a crossroads of civilisations. The safeguard of local peculiarities and ancient religious rituals may have been the condition for the acceptance of this new international status and of the new cultural deal.

Culture and religion are indeed not separated from the political and military developments. Certainly as we are going to see later on, the Letoon is no exception. Xanthos, the sanctuary's parent city, endured military invasions and subsequent successive political transformations between the time when our first archaeological evidence appears at the end of the eighth century and the moment when the temples of the Letoon are rebuilt in a typical Hellenistic style between the end of the third and the end of the second centuries. These successive upheavals brought about tremendous changes in the appearance and the structure of the Letoon and of the city of Xanthos. Our intent here is to try to explain and understand the cultural evolutions of Xanthian and subsequently of Lycian society in these five or so centuries. Following the conclusions of these studies we will try to establish the peculiar place of religion in these cultural changes. Persian and Greek interactions with the Lycian world are the main factors for the transformations that we are going to observe. Nevertheless, as we will see, native culture, language and religion resist the acculturation that is progressively taking place.

Our goal is humbly to participate to the wider discussion of the particular place of religion within an evolving culture. The peculiar situation of Lycia, and of Xanthos within Lycia, makes it, in our opinion, a very relevant example of the highly conservative but also flexible nature of religion. The assimilation of new symbols, new names for their divinity hides a very constant core of the divinities worshipped at the Letoon. Religion has a central but also uncharacteristic place in any given culture. It adapts to the new cultural societal impetus but it is the repository for the native identity and the conservation of the ancestral memory. Therefore studying the state of a local religion at a certain time can offer a glimpse into an earlier era where materials are scarcer.

i-The excavations in Xanthos and the Letoon: two combined sites

To speak about the Letoon is also to speak about the ancient city of Xanthos. The two sites are now linked as much through the processes of archaeology as they were once linked culturally and politically. The site of Xanthos was rediscovered in 1838 by Charles Fellows, a British explorer, who sent away to England a number of remains he found there, among which the now famous Nereid monument. The site is exactly Lat. 36.20/Long. 29.20 in the heart of the ancient Lycian region along the river Xanthos, the only true extensive plain to cross through this otherwise rather mountainous and severe region. Xanthos and the Letoon are often seen as a "double-site", since the two were closely linked and the sanctuary was administered by Xanthos. This combined entity Xanthos-Letoon is one of the most remarkable archaeological sites in modern Turkey. It has been therefore been registered in the UNESCO World Heritage Sites list. Currently there is a French team excavating Xanthos and the Letoon, proceeding to yearly excavation campaigns.

Therefore, there have been many studies and excavations around Lycia and Xanthos over the last forty years or so. In general the study of southern Anatolia has grown exponentially as a result of the improvements in the knowledge of local cultures and their inherent exchanges with middle-eastern, Greek and Hittite civilisations, which are greatly due to numerous archaeological discoveries. The Letoon and its parent-city Xanthos are a perfect example of such growing academic interest, thanks to the uninterrupted excavations since the 1960s under the supervision of the French CNRS and nowadays with the partnership of the Quebecer University of Laval.

Over those four decades, diverse matters have been discussed and studied, discussions among which religion has been one of the main focuses. The excavations at Xanthos were inherently linked with those in the Letoon. The Letoon is the great Lycian sanctuary which became progressively more well-known from the end of the classical period onward into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. During these latter periods the sanctuary received the monumental installations whose remains were the attraction for the modern archaeologists. The sanctuary was built around a spring. Between this spring and a hill, which was cut into in order to provide space, were the Hellenistic installations. The spring was arranged in the later periods of the existence of the sanctuary to avoid the constant flooding of the land. Such conditions result nowadays in the fact that the archaeologists have to drain the area prior to any excavation campaign on site. The sanctuary was linked to the city of Xanthos which used it for almost all the religious rituals of the city and its inhabitants, as we will see here below, and was progressively taking the functions of all the religious installations inside the city walls.

The Letoon was dedicated to the Letoan triad at least from the fourth century onward, centred around the cult of Leto, previously known under different names in the local language. The spring was the heart of a rather odd cult of several divinities that the Greeks assimilated to the Nymphs. The presence of Greek named divinities is only a late feature of the sanctuary and we will clarify the transformations underwent by the original indigenous divinities through contacts with the Greek and Persian world. The fact is that this sanctuary had known tremendous and eclectic developments in the five/six centuries between the appearance of the first artefacts and the beginning of the Roman rule. This is also the case in the relationship between the city of Xanthos, and to some extent the cities of Lycia, and the sanctuary itself. These will be subject to discussion later in this thesis.

Our discussion is centred around the religious aspects of the Xanthian culture and therefore mainly focuses on the Letoon, its evolutions and its developments. During the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods the main sanctuary of the city of Xanthos had, as we said, known successive phases of developments which tended to follow different phases of cultural impetus as well as the economic and political evolutions endured by the city of Xanthos and by the region of Lycia as a whole. We would like here ultimately to understand how much the religious practices, the divinities and the rituals per se have evolved in this ever-changing cultural context. Religion as a whole has been throughout history a refuge for ancient practices and cultural aspects, or so it is considered, and since the expansion of anthropology, syncretism and acculturation have become fashionable words to explain very complex phenomena. I have tried previously in my academic curriculum to understand if religion were a particularly conservative feature of the culture of a society through Cilician, as well as Pamphylian or Termessian examples. These remain particularly inconclusive and frustrating because of a lack of decisive materials. The case of Xanthos and the Letoon is a remedy to this because the sources are rich and the fieldwork far more extensive than anywhere else in the southern Anatolian world, at least in such a context where native peculiarities are so vivid in the sources. Hereby this is a very significant case of study for the comparative analysis of religion compared to the other social aspects of a society.

ii-Bibliography

The results of the numerous excavations at Xanthos and in the Letoon have been compiled until 1992 in the 9 volumes of the “Fouilles de Xanthos”. Unfortunately the later discoveries have not been gathered together in the same way and are to be found instead in multiple and separate articles. Nevertheless the “Fouilles” are a very useful compilation of materials and further more contain analysis of these materials by the scholars who were the closest to the field. A number of articles have been written following the discoveries of the archaeologists by Henri Metzger, Christian Le Roy, Alain Davesne, Jean Bousquet, André Balland, Pierre Coupel, Pierre Prunet, William Childs, André Bourgarel, Gérard Siebert or even Emmanuel Laroche whose efforts in the understanding of the native Lycian language have been decisive in comprehending and interpreting a number of sources. Despite those efforts, the Lycian language remains quite often difficult to translate and some inscriptions remain unfortunately partly undecipherable, and consequently the translations must be treated with caution. There is nonetheless a large bibliography that has to be addressed.

One of the other authors who need mention at this point is Trevor R. Bryce. His work is, in my opinion, fundamental in the criss-crossing of different types of sources to the understanding of the Lycian culture and cultural history, making analogies and drawing ideas from parallels unseen previously . He has been pinpointing crucial relationships between sources and his work is very intelligible and concise. Furthermore, although his arguments can be controversial, he has the merits of offering hypotheses and models for interpretation and always trying to see the big picture.

For the onomastics, we will massively use the thorough and brilliant work by Stephen Colvin who gives us a detailed account of the usage of local, Greek and Persian names in the different sources.

Methodologically it is important to be aware of what else is going on in Asia Minor and not treat Lycia in isolation. We should establish links with studies on other Anatolian cities and even further afield when this is relevant. For this reason, the studies of Elspeth Dusingberre on Persian Sardis are particularly relevant in the matters of explaining the Persian influence on the Xanthian society and the cults in the Letoon. Such comparative material needs to be used cautiously as contact with Persia will have been experienced differently in different places but the nature of the engagement can illuminate.

In the 60s BC, Cicero refers to the inhabitants of Phaselis as a Greek nation during a visit in Lycia.² We can extrapolate from this that a process of social transformation has taken place all over Lycia from the archaic period down to the Roman age, and this first and foremost in the intricate pair formed by Xanthos and the Letoon, from the archaic period onward. This phenomenon could be called Hellenisation, but the term is much too simple to describe a reality that is much more complex than just an assimilation to the Hellenic culture. Consequently we will use the term Hellenisation with caution in the pages of this thesis, especially in chapters 3 and 4 which are the chapters treating the most of these phenomena. We mean by this term the visible impact of Greek cultural imagery on the Lycian society, and therefore for us on the artefacts. The reality seems much more like a composite mingling of influences for which the basis is a genuine local culture. Our final aim will be ultimately to understand if religion stands out as a peculiarity compared to the other aspects of local culture. The need for understanding the relationship between Xanthos and the Letoon is therefore obvious. It is moreover far from following a straightforward line. The Letoon grows according to the religious needs of a fast-developing Xanthos to take its independence finally as a regional national sanctuary. Before we get on with answering those questions we need to further define Lycia as a geographical entity.

iii-Materials and sources

In the following pages, our arguments will be based on a wide range of archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic and literary data. This clearly is a conscious choice to be able to build a solid historical argument and is a common thing nowadays in the works which are trying to detail complex historical and sociological events. In the case of cultural and religious phenomena, this interdisciplinary vision of the evidences becomes an even more necessity, each of the documents giving us a piece of the puzzle.

The epigraphy, monumental and funerary, gives us some important details of the evolution of the cultural and religious impetus of the Xanthian. The usage of different languages, Lycian, Greek and from time to time Aramean, gives us an insight into the political and cultural position of Xanthos during their era under Persian rule. In that sense, a crucial Trilingual stele in the Letoon is goldmine of information about the situation of Xanthos and its sanctuary at the eve of Alexander's campaigns against the Persian empire. Furthermore, the localisation, nomenclature and iconography of the coinage is also a good indication of events taking place in Xanthos and Lycia. The diversity of the archaeological findings also

² *In Verrem* 4.10.

reveals some patterns of cultural evolutions of the Xanthian society and of their main sanctuary. The constant evolutions of the buildings of the Letoon is, in that sense, a wonderful example of the mix of flexibility and conservatism the Xanthian society shows in times of important cultural and political upheavals.

Incorporating such a massive amount of materials will require us to use both chronological and thematic outlines. We will try, through this material evidence, to show that beyond religion, Xanthos' society was deeply influenced by the Persian societal model and by the ideas and arts of the Greek world. The inscriptions, coinage and architecture of Xanthos, as well as their evolution, will help us determine how the social changes affected the Xanthian cults and the Letoon.

We will therefore bounce back and forth between Xanthos and the Letoon, trying on the way to establish how the link between the two entities evolved.

iv-Geography (cf. figs. 1 and 2)

Lycia as a whole is geographically bounded by the Indos (the modern Dalaman) in the west; in the east the coastal cities of the Limyros (the modern Alakir) river were at various times in or out of the Lycian cultural sphere; in the north the boundary is not continuous but rather following the northern reaches of the three principal rivers as they emerge from the mountainous basins: at Araxa on the Xanthos river (the modern Esen), Arneai on the Myros river (the modern Demre), Arykanda on the Arykandos river (the modern Suluin). The Indos (Dalaman) plain in the west was a zone of interaction with Caria. In the east the coastal strip merging into Pamphylia in the gulf of Antalya, from the Chalidonian point west of Alakir and north of Phaselis, was a zone of Rhodian influence. In this geographical area is the Western Lycia which seems always to have been at the centre of Lycian political and cultural life. This is formed by the Xanthos (river) valley and Telmessos in the north-west. There are two other subparts of Lycia which we need to define : central Lycia as the wild and mountainous territory east of the Xanthos valley and west of the mountains which separate Limyra from the eastern coastal plain (the modern Bey Daglari) and eastern Lycia, the part of the peninsula which as we will see was the most open to Greek influence and was markedly culturally and politically separated from the western Lycia, which includes all territory east of the Alakir Cay. The fact that the whole region of western Lycia was bounded by a valley bordered by steep and high mountains created a natural axis for cultural and linguistic unity and political cooperation in which Xanthos took the political and demographic leadership early on, just as the Letoon, probably later, took the religious

leadership. The name of the region is given by Greek authors as ‘*ἡ Λυκία*.³ The collective use of the ethnic *Λύκιος* is attested outside Lycia by Herodotus⁴ and internally in the epigram on the famous so-called Inscribed Pillar (cf. fig. 3).⁵ This is a monumental stele bearing a trilingual inscription (Greek, and the two forms of Lycian, Lycian A and B or Mylian which are considered as two dialects of the same language), generally dated to around 400 BC. Pseudo-Skylax⁶ calls the Lycian people an *ἔθνος*. The foundation myths of Lycia fix its origins from Crete.⁷ Herodotus reports that some Ionian cities took kings allegedly descending from Glaukos, the commander of the Lycian forces in the *Iliad*.⁸

In the *Iliad* only the Xanthos valley only seems to be considered as Lycia.⁹ In the Classical period, Lycia bordered on Caria in the west and Pamphylia in the east.¹⁰ The western border was at Telmessos.¹¹ The eastern border was at Phellos, according to Hekataios, who placed that location in Pamphylia. However Ps.-Skylax places the eastern border at Perge. By the time of Strabo (14.4.1), the eastern border was set near Phaselis, and had probably been around there for most of the Classical period. Ps.Skylax’s report might reflect a temporary extension of the mandate of the satrap of Lycia instituted by Alexander.¹² The northern border has not been properly described in the Archaic and Classical periods, though it appears from Arrian¹³ that there was some area between the borders of Lycia and Mt. Tauros. Milyas was made part of Lycia by the Persians, having previously been part of Greater Phrygia.¹⁴ Strabo¹⁵ implies that Lycia bordered on the Kibyratiss and Pisidia.¹⁶

³ Homer, *Iliad* 2.877; Thucydides 2.69; Ps.-Skylax 100; SEG XXVII, 942.1.3 (c. 337/6); cf. the translation and commentaries from SHIPLEY, Graham, 2011, *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus: the Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Exeter.

⁴ 1.173.1.

⁵ TAM I 44; CHILDS, William A. P., 1981, “Lycian Relations with Persians and Greeks in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries Re-Examined”, *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.70-1; GYGAX, M.D.; TIETZ, W., 2005, “‘He Who of All Mankind Set up the Most Numerous Trophies to Zeus’: The Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos Reconsidered”, *Anatolian Studies* 55, p.89-98.

⁶ Pseudo-Skylax 100.

⁷ Herodotus 1.173.1-2, 7.92; Strabo 12.8.5, 14.1.6; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3.1.1; Pausanias 7.3-7

⁸ 1.147.1; KEEN, Anthony G. and HANSEN, Mogens H., 2004, “Lycia” in HANSEN, Mogens H., NIELSEN, Thomas H.(ed), *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis*, p.1138-1143, cf. p.1138

⁹ *Iliad* 2.876-7; BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, “Political Unity in Lycia during the “Dynastic” Period”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.32; BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Vol. I.

The Lycians, Copenhagen, p.13.

¹⁰ Pseudo-Skylax 99-101.

¹¹ Pseudo-Skylax 100; Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.24.4.

¹² KEEN, Antony, 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.117 n.50.

¹³ *Anabasis* 3.6.6.

¹⁴ Arrian, *Anabasis* 1.24.5.

¹⁵ 14.2.1, 3.9.

¹⁶ KEEN, Antony, 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with*

The northern uplands do not seem to have been considered as part of Lycia in the epichoric period (the expression by which the French archaeologists and historians as well as Bryce designate the period during which the Lycians used primarily their local language on inscriptions and epigrams): the Elmali valley is then called Mylias (Strabo 13.4.17 and 14.5.7; the dialect known as Lycian B is occasionally known as Mylian though there is no geographical evidence of this and is better being avoided). These lands seemed to have been more open to the influence of Phrygia. To the west Boubon, Balboursa and Oinoanda were known as Kabalia, and were included in Lycia by Sulla after 82 BC.¹⁷

This is how the Greeks defined Lycia. According to Herodotus,¹⁸ Lycia was part of the first Persian satrapy, but how the Persian rule delineated the region is unknown until the Hekatomnids (360-334 BC). The region does not seem to have constituted a separate administrative unit, but was always joined with at least one of the neighbouring regions.¹⁹ Between 340 and 334, Pixodaros became satrap of Caria and newly attached Lycia but in 333 Alexander made Nearchos satrap “of Lycia and of the adjacent region until Mount Tauros”,²⁰ i.e. of Lycia and western Pamphylia. Earlier under Persian rule there may have been a Lycian kingdom which was largely coterminous with the Lycian cultural area and which was a member of the Delian League for at least a limited period of time.²¹ We are here below discussing more emphatically the question of the administrative status of Lycia during the Classical era.

The localisation of Lycian inscriptions, tombs and attested mints delineate the region in terms of civilization rather than administration. These show that Lycians lived from Telmessos in the west to Gagai in the east. West of Telmessos, we found a few Lycian inscriptions in the Glaukos valley, which was presumably the hinterland of Telmessos, but no trace of Lycian civilization has been found east of Gagai. Towards the north, the Elmali plateau was considered Lycian from at least the fourth century.²²

Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C., New York, p.17-19.

¹⁷ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, p.50.

¹⁸ 3.90.1.

¹⁹ ZAHLE, Jan, 1989, “Politics and economy in Lycia during the Persian period”, *Revue des études anciennes* 91, p.169-182 and ZAHLE, Jan, 1991, “Achaemenid influences in Lycia (coinage, sculpture, architecture), evidence for political changes during the fifth century B.C.” in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.145-160.

²⁰ Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.6.6.

²¹ KEEN, Antony, 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York.

²² ZAHLE, Jan, 1980, “Lycian tombs and Lycian cities”, in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris,

It is clear from archaeology that the Lycians started nucleating urban settlements early on.²³ Some of the Lycian urban centres can be traced back to the Archaic period, though they were then far too small to be proper towns. A considerable phase of urbanization seems to have begun in the first half of the fifth century, especially on the sites of Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos, Myra and Avşar Tepesi. All these settlements were fortified; their area enclosed between 10 to 25 ha. All seem to have been inhabited by between 1,000 and 1,500 people, and perhaps as many as 2,500 people according to the highest estimates.²⁴

v-Origins and identity

Our discussion is about the cults of the Letoon and subsequently of Xanthos, their significance and their influence over Xanthian society in the classical period. Nevertheless, it seems now difficult to split apart religious activities and demonstrations from the complex social and cultural environment of western Anatolia in the first millennium BC. Much has been done lately to further our understanding of the complexity of Achaemenid Anatolia's societies. To understand the transformations of the Xanthian elite in Achaemenid times, it is necessary to understand the way the Achaemenid power was changing and accommodating local societies and culture to its objectives of fostering harmonious new forms of culture and society within the empire and to create the sense of transnational unity. The peculiar status of Xanthos and its dominion for most of the Achaemenid period, as a *de facto* independent subject state, makes it difficult to parallel observations in cities like Daskyleion, Sardis or Perge to the material of Xanthos, but ignoring the strategies of the Achaemenid empires to build and fortify its domain would be unwise. Moreover, Xanthos and western Lycia were indeed subdued to Persian rule; their different status was probably the only way for the Persians to insure the quietness of a 'troublesome' and conscious nation which showed to the Persian occupiers the cost of their pride. Diversity was a characteristic of the Achaemenid Empire, as it was to become of the Roman empire later on. Adaptability to local landscapes and cultures was a prerequisite for success for any transnational empire and the Achaemenid Empire is no exception. The Lycian civilisation did not leave much remains before the Persian invasion, but, as we will see in the first chapter, it was seemingly a

p.37-49.

²³ KEEN, Antony, 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.28-9; MARKSTEINER, Thomas, 2002, *Trysa : eine zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit : siedlungs-, architektur- und kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Kulturlandschaft Lykien*, Phoibos.

²⁴ MARKSTEINER, Thomas, 1997, *Die befestigte Siedlung von Limyra : Studien zur vorrömischen Wehrarchitektur und Siedlungsentwicklung in Lykien unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der klassischen Periode*, Phoibos.

particular, regional culture with its own specificity, and was therefore a brand new culture to be incorporated within the Persian empire.

It was indeed not long before the Persian invasion that a Lycian civilization emerges (at least in terms of hard settlements). The oldest traces of settlement on the Letoon are as old as the ones on Xanthos' acropolis (mostly ceramics) and could be dated back to the beginning of the seventh century and perhaps the end of the eighth century. In fact, the oldest piece could be interpreted as a trace of a private property as much as an *ex-voto*. However, whatever it was, the extent of the settlement was as wide as the classical sanctuary. Moreover, one of the *ex-votos* found in the spring, south of the rock terrace, is of a late archaic style, from the sixth century, and south-west of the water-point, a cumulus of archaic figurines has been found.²⁵ That shows that it was very early a settled sanctuary, of which the spring constituted the very first focal point of the cult. Nowadays the spring it was built around is still here, but lacks the buildings which contained the waters from the assigned limited space and evacuated the overflow, and so every year before any attempts to excavate the archaeologists need to drain the site all over again. The sanctuary was conceived against the hill in the north-east, but rested on a squishy and muddy soil, making it important to fill the basement when restoring or rebuilding all or parts of the Letoon.²⁶

Restoring the right context and the right timeline for the establishment of the sanctuary is arduous because an extensive excavation is technically difficult, though evidence so far situates the beginning of a settlement around the end of the seventh – beginning of the sixth century BC. The presence in the stratum from the end of the archaic period of burnt animals bones (hence of probable ritual sacrifices) indicates that the space was occupied and already sacred from the earliest period of settlement.²⁷ The addition of those and of the probable *ex-voto* of the spring seems to indicate that the cult was settled in around the seventh century BC, though it is difficult to know if the space was already sacred before and if any kind of ritual was practised there before. According to the parallel excavations of the city of Xanthos, the town seems to have been settled around the same period, and the two sites are, as far as we know, the oldest proofs of settlement in the whole of Lycia. But our

²⁵ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, "Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-342; METZGER, Henri and BOURGAREL, André, 1992, "La région nord du Létôon" in *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, p.77-80; KEEN, Antony, 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.195.

²⁶ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos », *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.616; LEROY, Christian, 1984, « La lutte d'un sanctuaire contre l'évolution du milieu naturel: le Létôon de Xanthos en Lycie », *Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes Français*, p. 41-44.

²⁷ Ibid., pp.619-620.

understanding here is based on stone-based materials and the possibility of entire wooden structures or artefacts existing previously on site remains a possibility.

We cannot exclude, either, the possibility that there already was some form of cult in the Letoon before the appearance of the first artefacts. At very least, these settlers laid out a place of worship in a place of certain significance as they did not hesitate to put it four kilometres away from the city itself. The presence of the spring was probably the main focus of the cult in the proto-Letoon. As we will see later the Letoon and its cult clearly orbits around the natural attributes of the terrain on which it was built.

vi-The major phases of the Letoon

It is only under the Persian occupation that the sanctuary known as the Letoon acquired a structured, well-built and monumental aspect.²⁸ So far the buildings of Xanthos and the Letoon of the sixth century do not immediately reflect Persian influence, and stayed of a noticeably Lycian/Anatolian character for a while. It is only from the last quarter of the fourth century that the Persian influence really seeps through into different aspects of the Lycian life, and it culminated at the time of Arbinas²⁹, perhaps even with a the presence of a small colony of Persian settlers, and by the adoption of some Persian artistic standards. In Xanthos the paleo-Christians have destroyed most of the buildings from this era, but at the north of the site of the Letoon, there is a structure which looks similar to finds from the Achaemenid palaces, which therefore probably had an administrative purpose and is distinct in that way to the Classical temples which had typically Lycian wooden structures. The Persian authorities were showing real comprehension for local cults at that time, and probably did not insist too much on the types of the buildings used for religious matters. But for the buildings with administrative purposes, even those within the Letoon, the respect for local traditions was not as strong as for the buildings with purely religious-purposes.³⁰

Later on, in the Hellenistic period, despite being the official sanctuary for the newly created Lycian federation, the sanctuary was still attached to the city of Xanthos, as we will see from decrees and various epigraphic sources of the Hellenistic period. The renovations of the second century BC are not only a Xanthian gesture, but a real collective gesture of religious

²⁸ Ibid., p.620.

²⁹ one of the last and most illustrious dynast of Xanthos under whose leadership was produced some of the richest and most significant documentation attesting the unique position of Lycia between different civilization.

³⁰ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la decouverte du monde Lycien », Revue des Etudes Anciennes 89, p.15-16.

nationalism, though the growing status of the Letoon in the Hellenistic times could not stop the decline of Xanthos as the previous economic and political capital of Lycia.

If our interest turns more directly to the Lycian divinities and cults, it is mainly for the one place of worship that is the Letoon. The development of the sanctuary follows in many respects the political and cultural evolutions of the city of Xanthos, which seems to have had early on the administrative responsibility of the supervision of the sanctuary. We will have the occasion to further understand that uniquely evolving relationship between city and sanctuary. However it had a life on its own and the whole purpose of this thesis will be to define how the divinities and the rituals surrounding them are evolving compared with all the other cultural and political aspects of the Xanthian/ 'Leto-an' society. The same diverse cultural influences, which are observable in the material from Xanthos, affected the Letoon as well. The cults of the venerable sanctuary have endured the effect of 'Persianisation' and 'Hellenisation' to the point when the triad (but was it originally a triad? Cf. ch 5.2) and the auxiliary deities are renamed according to Greek standards, respectively Leto, Artemis, Apollo and the Nymphs. The Letoon was first of all a Lycian sanctuary of the Mother-Goddess which lived in the spring, and this local conception may have been long-lived in most Lycian minds after the Mother-Goddess became Leto, despite the apparent standardisation of the cults on Greek standards.

In order fully to understand and investigate these transformations, we need to follow the indications of scarce but rather significant sources of which the most important remain the archaeological ruins on the Letoon's site itself, epigraphy and building remains. It will be important to compare the evolutions in Xanthos and the Letoon with the general religious context of Lycia. For this the materials are even scarcer but the numismatic evidence is rather rich, especially after the Lycian *koinon* was created.

The major event of differentiation between the sanctuary and its tutelary city is the creation of the Lycian *koinon* which made the Letoon its federal sanctuary. We know only approximately the creation date (about 200 BC)³¹ of this *koinon*, though we know that it was already a time of relative decline for Xanthos, which was no longer the most important city of western Lycia, let alone the whole of Lycia. The *koinon* probably existed already by the time of the Rhodian rule (after the treaty of Apamea in 190 BC), but it became completely effective after the end of this servitude, with the Roman benefaction, and was to be quite successful for more than a century. The Letoon which had previously been a factor of unity between the cities of the Xanthos valley assumed thereafter the same role on a Lycian-wide

³¹ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108.

scale. Nevertheless the creation of the *koinon* does not mean that Xanthos effectively lost control of its sanctuary but that it shared its highly symbolic value with the *koinon* as a whole.

Before a period of prosperity for Lycia in the second half of the second century, the city of Xanthos might have been greatly affected by the beginning of the Rhodian rule over Lycia after the battle of Magnesia, and the regaining of their independence seems to have been reason for rejoicing and federal investments as the newly independent *koinon* renovated it (almost rebuilt it : the new temples were literally enclosing and incorporating the old ones within their structures of a distinctly Hellenistic fashion)³², among which are three temples visible nowadays on the Letoon's site ; the importance of the renovations work and its costs were not within Xanthos' financial capability.³³ In classical times, the famous fourth century Trilingual Inscription of the Letoon shows that the new cults were financed by Xanthos and the Xanthians themselves, although these were in all probability minor cults. Despite being the official sanctuary for the Lycian federation, it was still attached to the city of Xanthos, as we will see from decrees and various epigraphic sources of the Hellenistic period. The Letoon became a factor of unity for the numerous Lycian towns. It nevertheless remained in the grasp of Xanthos for administrative purposes but the city lacked the finances necessary to take care of and eventually enhance the then monumental sanctuary and so was more and more relying on pecuniary interventions of the *koinon*, especially now that the dimensions of the temples made the Letoon one of the largest religious complexes in Asia Minor.

We will discuss these matters much further all along this thesis. Nevertheless now we have a basic timeline for the complete transformation of the site of the Letoon between the first ex-votos and the erection of the rather imposing Hellenistic temples.

³² DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C. », in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, de Boccard, Paris ; LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.13.

³³ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos », *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.622 sqq.

vii-Ethnicity and origins of the Lycians

How and by whom Lycia was populated is a rather complex matter. Bryce has tried to decrypt the information given in the Greek and local sources. The Lycians called themselves in their fifth and fourth century epichoric inscriptions as *Trmmili* and their country as *Trmmisa*.³⁴ Herodotus (I,147) and Strabo (12.8.5) says the *Termilae* were originally Cretans following Sarpedon's flight from Crete. Arguably there was a Cretan element in the *Termilae*, but the name is Anatolian. Indeed etymologically the word *Termilae* could originate from a Luwian word for mountainous people.³⁵ The link with the *Termilae* is not limited to the Xanthos valley and western Lycia but we can cite the names of Lycian Termessos Minor near Oinoanda and Termessos in Pisidia, as well as in the south-west corner of Caria a number of names also recalling the name of *Termilae*, namely the Carian Telmessos, Termera, Termerion and Termeros. Perhaps these *Termilae* were linked with the Cretan Minoans if we follow Herodotus' tradition,³⁶ Cretan traders would have settled around the western Lycia and southern Caria and were called *Termilae* by the *Lukka* emigrants, because of the peculiar geography of Lycia.³⁷ Indeed according to Bryce despite the truthful certitude and the variety of legends of Greek authors that the name of Lycia was originally Greek, it seems rather probable that the name of Lycia was a derivate from the *Lukka* population who would have colonised the Xanthos valley sometimes at the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the first.

These *Lukka* communities coming from the region of Miletus (*Milawata/Milawanda* in the Bronze Age) were probably providing most of the substrate and were responsible for most of the retention of many of Luwian elements in the Lycian civilization.³⁸ The Lycian language on epichoric inscriptions as well as numismatic legends and graffiti on pottery shards is directly descendant of the Luwian language. Also the names of divinities are very much Luwian.³⁹ The *Lukka* people are connected with the Xanthos valley and especially Xanthos and Tlos by their Luwian names *Arinna/Arinna* and *Tlawa/Dalawa*. Moreover the specific associations between the Homeric heroes of Lycia and the cities of Tlos and Xanthos, suggests that sometimes after the Bronze Age, probably at the end of the eighth century,

³⁴ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.5.

³⁵ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.30; LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1976, "Lyciens et Termiles", *Revue Archéologique* 1976-1, p.15-19.

³⁶ 1.173.

³⁷ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.31.

³⁸ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.5.

³⁹ T BRYCE, Trevor, 1981, "Disciplinary agents in the Sepulchral Inscriptions of Lycia", *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.81-93.

some *Lukka* settlers colonized the Xanthos valley, and the Homeric tradition relates to the *Lukka* in their homeland, around Miletus/*Milawanda* in western Caria in general. This emigration was probably due to the *Lukka* peoples seafaring, some of them might have found a good place to settle in the almost empty Xanthos valley.⁴⁰

One more argument for the Luwian origin of the name of Lycia and its colonization by a Luwian population is another foundation myth of Bellerophon and Pegasus, well-known to Homer and perhaps of Luwian origin.⁴¹ When and how this mythography and mythology reached Greece and Lycia is unknown but by the classical period the Lycians had fully integrated it into their funerary iconography as well their civic institutions.⁴² At the time of Harpagus' conquest, Lycia *per se* must have been little more than the Xanthos valley ; the rest of the future so-called Lycia was certainly inhabited, but by mainly semi-nomadic small communities which may have had some cultural and ethnic affinities with the Xanthos valley but very little or no political coherence.⁴³

There is indeed little doubt that the early Lycian population was made of different ethnic groups which seem to have entered the area during or subsequent to the upheavals which marked the end of the Bronze Age in the Near East. But in the end the cultural context is a peculiar local form of Anatolian culture. We will see in detail how this applies to Xanthos and, when possible, to the Letoon.

We know even less of the religion of Archaic Lycia than about the origins of its population, since epichoric inscriptions appeared at around the same time it was invaded by the Persians, and they only reached their climax during the fourth century. The type of divinity of the

⁴⁰ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.26-28.

⁴¹ CARLIER, Pierre, 2000, "Les Marques écrites chez Homère" in PERNA, Massimo (ed), *Administrative Documents in the Aegean and their Near Eastern Counterparts. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Naples, February 29 – March 2, 1996*, Turin, p.309-314 ; BORKER-KLAHN, Jutta, 2003, "Tumulus B von Bayindir bei Elmali" in M.Giorgieri (ed), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione : atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 11-12 ottobre 1999*, Rome, p.72: Pegasus name might come from the Luwian « thunder », and could mean « the one who holds thunder(bolt) ».

⁴² LE ROY, Christian, 2004, *Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie*, Cahiers du centre Glotz 15, p.; for a rupestre tomb in Tlos cf. BEAN, Georges E., 1978, *Lycian Turkey, an archeological guide*, London, p.67-68; another confirmation of this is given by the bilingual inscription in honour of Arbinas, dynast of Xanthos in the Letoon, which is shown by Bousquet to be a real compilations of Homeric quotes and verses, a real cultural choice in itself : BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, *Les inscriptions du Letoon en l'honneur d'Arbinas et l'épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos* in LEMAIRE, André ed., *Fouilles de Xanthos. 9, La Région Nord du Létôn ; Les Sculptures ; Les Inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, Klincksieck, Paris, p. 163-5.

⁴³ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.40.

Mother-Goddess and its *Eliyanna* or Nymphs (as they were later called) aside had undoubtedly been introduced by those Luwian *Lukka* people who were certainly different from the *Termilae*, and if a cult was there in the soon to be called Letoon, then the indigenous cult was amalgamated and assimilated to it. But the archaeology remains silent on this.

viii-The native divinities

The names of divinities are very much Luwian.⁴⁴ The ‘mother of the gods’ (*eni mahanahi* in Xanthos) was known in Luwian as *annis massanassis* and may well have been introduced into Lycia by the Luwian speaking *Lukka* people sometime after 1200 BC. She was known outside Xanthos as ‘mother of this sanctuary/precinct’ (*eni qlahi ebiyehi*) in Tlos, Antiphellos, Isinda, Myra and especially in Telmessos,⁴⁵ reflecting the goddess’s importance throughout the whole country : she was not a national goddess, but a peculiar goddess for each precinct or district.⁴⁶ There is no evidence for any national organisation of Lycian cults overall, despite the Letoon being the religious focal point for the region as a whole, the worship of most deities stayed attached to their local cult centres. The same deity could be worshipped in many different places but each community regarded it as belonging to that centre or district, as the differences of appellation for the Mother-Goddess shows. It seems therefore probable that the Letoon dates back to a second millenium Luwian *annis massanassis*.⁴⁷ Therefore it would have been at the arrival of the Luwian *Lukka* people in western Lycia that the site of the Letoon would have received a more federating divinity which would have integrated or replaced a more ancient cult.

In the classical times, though the Letoon was to some extent the religious focal point for the whole region, cults were very local, as for the Mother(s) of these sanctuaries. The references to the *mahai huwedri* “the confederate gods”, “the assembly of the gods”, “all the gods” may point, whoever they are, to the conscience of a common pantheon amongst the Lycians. In

⁴⁴ BRYCE, Trevor, 1981, “Disciplinary agents in the Sepulchral Inscriptions of Lycia”, *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.81-93.

⁴⁵ In Tlos: TL 26 ; in Antiphellos: TL 56 ; in Isinda: TL 65 ; in Myra: TL 94 ; in Telmessos: TL 102,110,112,131 and 145.

⁴⁶ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, “The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia”, *Historia* 32, p.5.

⁴⁷ MELLINK, Machteld J., 1995, “Homer, Lycia, and *Lukka*”, in CARTER, Jane P. and MORRIS, Sarah P., *The ages of Homer : a tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, p.37.

this common religious conscience, the divinities of the Letoon may have been a strong focal point, linked to the prominent place of Xanthos among the Lycian cities.⁴⁸

In the fourth century it seems doubtful that *eni mahanahi/eni qlahi ebijehi* was assimilated to Leto by the similarity with the Lycian word *lada* for “wife” or “lady”, though this could have helped the assimilation.⁴⁹ Despite the Greek name Leto, it is a Western Asian divinity that is venerated in the Letoon for which, in a usage rare enough to be noticed, we know the native Lycian name: *Eni mahanani* or *Eni qlahi ebijehi*,⁵⁰ respectively “divine mother” and “mother of this precinct”. These are clearly derived from Luwian etymologies.⁵¹ The two goddesses, Leto and the Lycian Mother-Goddess, were probably connected around the theme of maternity, though for the Anatolian Mother-Goddess maternity is far more biological than the divine maternity of Leto, centred almost exclusively around her children’s mythical importance and not her own nature.⁵² One of the questions we are going to have to answer is why this Mother-Goddess was assimilated into Leto and not Cybele (Sardis), Artemis (Ephesus) or Demeter like the *annis massanassis* became elsewhere in Anatolia. One initial suspicion is that the Letoan triad was convenient enough to be assimilated into a local triad. We will come back more deeply to this but it is also noticeable that this goddess is distinct from Leto notably by the company of the *Eliyanna*, probably a form of water or spring divinities, there associated with the Letoon’s spring, identified with the Nymphs, whose names also come from the Luwian.⁵³ The name *Eliyanna* probably comes from the Luwian *ali(ya)*- which designated a liquid element such as lake, pond, river or spring, and their cults which certainly originated from western Anatolia, as it is yet unknown in Hittite sources.⁵⁴ The Nymphs are cited for the first time alongside the triad in

⁴⁸ TEIXIDOR, Javier, 1978, The Aramaic Text in the Stele from Xanthus, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37.

⁴⁹ MELCHERT, Craig H., 1993, “A new interpretation of lines c 3-9 of the Xanthos Stele”, in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6-12 Mai 1990*, p.37 ; KEEN, Antony, 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.195-6.

⁵⁰ Bilingual at Antiphellos TL 56, confirmed by the trilingual LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, “L’inscription lycienne”, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, p.49-127.

⁵¹ LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1980, « Les dieux de la Lycie classique d’après les textes lyciens », *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris, p.3.

⁵² FREZOULS, Edmond, 1993, « Les cultes de la Lycie occidentale », p.204 in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.206.

⁵³ LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1980, « Les dieux de la Lycie classique d’après les textes lyciens », *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris, p.4.

⁵⁴ LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.114.

the Arbinas poem of around 380, and so by this time the assimilation had effectively happened.⁵⁵ We will investigate the cases of Apollo and Artemis in more detail as well.

We have so far given glimpses at how many questions arise from our main problem, the distinctiveness of religion in its evolutions when under various foreign influences, especially compared with the other cultural aspects of a society and so in Xanthos and the Letoon. The evolutions of Xanthos and the Letoon in the archaic, classical and Hellenistic periods, the relationship of those two entities in the light of political events, as well as the impact of Persian domination over Lycia and the progressive integration of Greek imagery in the Lycian life, are some of the main topics we will follow to answer this ultimate question.

ix- Adaptation of Foreign religions to political and cultural changes

These questions of local cultural and religious adaptations to regime change and foreign influence have been and are the reasons of numerous works on Lycia, but beyond Lycia some answers to other regional examples might be useful here. The same political mutations happened elsewhere in the Mediterranean world. Egypt is a very good example of how Persians and then Macedonians handled a strong religious establishment.

There the temples held a very important place in the economic and social life of the native population. The Persians, then Alexander and later the Ptolemaic dynasty had different approaches regarding how to incorporate or deal with the native temples and divinities.

The Persian occupation understandably wanted to prevent any rebellions in its provinces. The military presence was only there as a last resort. In that respect the Great Kings' efforts were directed towards stability in the newly conquered provinces. To accomplish this they were trying to build a strong collaboration with local elites, and incorporating them into the imperial structure. This strategy was based on the loyal collaboration of these native elites.⁵⁶

The local upper-class and elite (civil servants, priests, doctors, etc.) were certainly collaborating with the Persian conquerors, the new masters of Egypt. Some were also sent to the Great King's court as artisans. Egyptian artefacts are found in Persia as much as Persian artefacts are found in Egypt.⁵⁷ The Persians living in Egypt seem to have been well

⁵⁵ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, « Les inscriptions du Létion » in H. Metzger, *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, p.158 and p.178-9.

⁵⁶ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *Histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.91.

⁵⁷ BRESCIANI, Edda, 1995, « L'Égypte des satrapes d'après la documentation araméenne et égyptienne », *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 139, p.97-108.

integrated to Egyptian society. There are numerous examples of Persian individuals living in Egypt receiving Egyptian names, venerating Egyptian deities and adopting Egyptian customs, and in some cases these individuals are even Persian officials.⁵⁸ The iconography shows often various influences as Greek motifs or Aramaic characters are added to typically Egyptian scenes.⁵⁹ We know also of inter-ethnic marriages.⁶⁰ Nonetheless some Persian documents relating to Egypt seem to show the unwillingness or inability of certain Persian officials to deal with the native Egyptian traditions, which would have been the main reason for multiple rebellions in the Delta region, despite the efforts by the Persian rulers to issue translations of the Egyptian law⁶¹ from demotic to Aramaic and make economic documents bilingual.⁶²

As Pharaohs of Egypt, the Great Kings were protecting the divinities of Egypt, at least from Darius onward who is showed by sources as a Pharaoh very respectful of local customs.⁶³ Darius made great efforts to show himself as part of the Egyptian Pharaonic lineage. The priests, however, showed reluctance to allow themselves to be dictated to by a “roi étranger meme pharaonisé.”⁶⁴ Darius was presenting himself as a legitimate monarch but also as the conqueror.⁶⁵

The temples kept their social predominance during the Persian occupation despite the desecrations and persecutions of the occupants claimed by their Hellenistic successors.⁶⁶ In fact Alexander and the Ptolemies, in the same way as the Persians did, needed the collaboration of the temples and their personnel not only to guarantee the calm of a crucial province but most importantly to ensure its profitability, while at the same time not to give them too much latitude and power. The clergy was also the guarantor of the legitimacy of the crown. The clergy was not only a spiritual power for it also had great influence on temporal power. While civil servants, they also practised necessary rituals for well-being of

⁵⁸ JOHNSON, Janet H., 1999, “Ethnic considerations in Persian Period Egypt” in TEETER, Emily and LARSON, John A. (ed), *Gold of Praise, Studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente, Studies in Ancient oriental Civilization* n.58, p.213.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p.214.

⁶¹ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *Histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.490.

⁶² JOHNSON, Janet H., 1999, “Ethnic considerations in Persian Period Egypt” in TEETER, Emily and LARSON, John A., *Gold of Praise, Studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente, Studies in Ancient oriental Civilization* n.58, p.218-9.

⁶³ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *Histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.492-4.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.496.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p.499-500.

⁶⁶ Diodorus, *Historicus*, 16.51: nevertheless these have been considered as Ptolemaic propaganda: cf. DEVAUCHELLE, Didier, 1995, “Le sentiment antiperse chez les anciens Egyptiens”, *Transeuphratènes* 9, p.67-80.

the entire community. They therefore ensured the necessary theological elements associated with the pharaoh's mandate.⁶⁷

The Ptolemies seemed to respect this state of affairs and the personnel of the temples were performing an important civil role under the Macedonian dynasty. The indigenous elite was indeed substantially integrated into the Greek administration which kept very close links with the temples.⁶⁸ The native religious functions are somewhat fused and often the Hellenised priests are known only by their Greek names, so we might forget the double identity they carry.⁶⁹

Despite the assertions of conquerors, when Ptolemy took control of Egypt, the power of the temples seems to have been kept intact. The Persians kept the native elite in place and so did the Greeks.⁷⁰ Ptolemy I made a real effort to keep the collaboration of some eminent indigenous elite.⁷¹ However the Greeks gave new responsibilities to some members of the native aristocracy while taking some away from others who seem to have been the main collaborators with the Persian administration.⁷² The acceptance of the new order in the temples seems to have been driven by the common interest of the clergy and the new Greek regime to see the welfare of the country and the sanctuaries perpetuated, as well as the continuation of divine rituals.

The hieroglyphic language seems to have been kept in use in the temples' decrees after Ptolemy I. But the use of this language, alongside demotic and Greek versions, is present only as secondary ritual language, the demotic and the Greek versions being the only official and legal versions.⁷³ These new Trilingual synod decrees which appear under Ptolemy II are the markers of a new cultural order where the ancient native Egyptian language and culture is used merely to legitimise the new Greek decision-making. The texts are built as honorary Greek texts with a few local elements but must be considered as emanating directly from the Ptolemaic administration.⁷⁴ They are the witnesses of the growing integration of the local

⁶⁷ SAUNERON, Serge, 1988, *Les Prêtres de l'ancienne Egypte*, p.41.

⁶⁸ CLARYSSE, Willy, 1999, "Ptolémées et temples" in LECLANT, Jean and VALBELLE, Dominique (ed), *Le décret de Memphis, Colloque de la Fondation Singer-Polignac à l'occasion de la célébration du bicentenaire de la découverte de la Pierre de Rosette*, Paris, p.53-5.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.56.

⁷⁰ SWINNEN, Wilfried, 1973, « Sur la politique religieuse de Ptolémée I » in SIMON, Marcel, *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecques et romaines: colloque de Strasbourg (9-11 juin 1971)*, p.115-133.

⁷¹ Ibid., p.131-2.

⁷² GORRE, Gilles, 2003, « Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après la documentation privée », *Cahiers du centre Gustave Glotz* 14, p.31

⁷³ Ibid., p.32-33.

⁷⁴ CLARYSSE, Willy, 1999, "Ptolémées et temples" in LECLANT, Jean and VALBELLE, Dominique (ed), *Le décret de Memphis, Colloque de la Fondation Singer-Polignac à l'occasion de la célébration du*

clergy into the Greek administration in a period when the Ptolemaic hold on Egypt is the strongest.⁷⁵ This progressive assimilation of the native religious elite into the Ptolemaic administration seems to have been successful by the time of the Roman conquest of Egypt. The clergy then lost most of its power and remained largely anonymous under Roman rule.⁷⁶

The Persians and the Greeks seem to have had the same kind of approach regarding Egyptian temples and their necessary collaboration. Overall the Egyptian native population and clergy does not seem to have accepted too easily the assimilation or incorporation of foreign deities within their divine pantheon but the organisation of the cults progressively evolved to adapt to the successive new rulers. However adapting meant collaborating politically, not surrendering their ancestors' rituals to the now dominant culture.

Closer to Lycia, as attested by the iconographical evidence (all later than the middle of the fifth century), the Cilician culture shows signs of assimilation to the Persian culture.⁷⁷ The Cilicians natives and especially the elite seem to have accepted Persian-made artefacts and Persian elements in their monuments.⁷⁸ We do not know unfortunately about Cilician religious establishment as much as we do about Egypt. About the divinities, René Lebrun concludes one of his articles by stating that, despite growing Hellenisation, there is a number of examples of Cilician divinities and their cults where the "résistances cultuels" are constant and quotidian even as late as the beginning of our era, despite the fact that the divinities are named with Greek appellations. Although the author notes that the Hellenisation of the cults seems to have been more effective in the more accessible parts of Cilicia.⁷⁹ Earlier in my academic curriculum, my interests in Cilician religion and civilisation drove me to the same conclusions that religion was carrying most of the signs of the survival of native cultural elements. In Egypt where the documentation of the temples is rich, we can see that the clergy is one of the main factors in safeguarding the indigenous culture. Religion is the most conservative aspect of any society's culture, especially when it is under duress. It is easier to change clothing trends or to adopt some new types of ceramics and home furniture than to change one's faith. The fact that clergymen and priests were at

bicentenaire de la découverte de la Pierre de Rosette, Paris, p.41.

⁷⁵ GORRE, Gilles, 2003, « Les relations du clergé égyptien et des Lagides d'après la documentation privée », *Cahiers du centre Gustave Glotz* 14, p.33.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p.43.

⁷⁷ CASABONNE, Olivier, 1996, "Présence et influence perses en Cilicie à l'époque Achéménide : Iconographie et représentations", *Anatolia Antiqua* 4, p.121-145 ; CASABONNE, Olivier, 2004, *La Cilicie à l'époque Achéménide*, Paris, p.94.

⁷⁸ CASABONNE, Olivier, 2004, *La Cilicie à l'époque Achéménide*, Paris, p.95-97.

⁷⁹ LEBRUN, René, 1998, « Panthéons locaux de Lycie, Lykaonie et Cilicie aux deuxième et premier millénaires av. J.-. C. », *Kernos* 11, p.155.

the top of the social scale may have made it even more difficult for new rulers to make changes to or alter their prerogatives or the divinities they served.

Of course, these examples are not entirely relevant as comparisons especially regarding Lycia in the Persian era. Lycia, as we are going to see, had a very peculiar status within the empire. We said above that Herodotus puts Lycia in the first satrapy. However before the late first half of the fourth century, Lycia appears to be in the hands of local or regional dynasts which are seemingly loyal to the Achaemenid rule but seem to have enjoyed a relative autonomy from the satrap or may have answered to the Great King directly. Our poor understanding of the dynamic situation of Lycia within the empire might create confusion in the following chapters. Indeed Lycia seems to be an abnormality in the context of the Persian empire. What we can draw from this is that a number of Persian elements were assimilated by the local population ; some were drawn from examples of propagation of Persian artefacts or the presence in the provinces of Persian artists but the usage of some Persian imagery by the local authorities might have been promoted by the Great King and his administration, in whose hands their fate was ultimately held. As we are going to see this is a phenomenon that affected the Xanthian elite. In Xanthos the dynastic iconography was substantially inspired by Persian court norms. It was an intention of the Persian empire to try to convert local population to imperial Persian ideology. We will see more precisely how this Persian soft-power operated largely through the example of Sardis in chapter 3.

Unfortunately we do not know as much about the temples of the Letoon and its personnel in the Persian and earlier Hellenistic periods as we do about their Egyptian counterparts. We will try to understand the impact the Persian and Greek cultural and political influences had on the Xanthian Mother-Goddess' sanctuary but this will understandably be limited by the extent of the materials at our disposition. The Persian influence on the cults themselves is also elusive, but one has to remember that there is very little left of the sanctuary from Persian times, and unfortunately no religious bas-reliefs except for some friezes and sculptures in Xanthos which may be considered religious to some extent, and these are almost all from the later period of the Persian rule.

Ultimately understanding the cultural impetus of a region, its population, its elite and its cults remains largely based on local circumstances and conjunctures. That is why in this thesis we will start our studies by trying to understand the historical context and peculiar internal dynamics of Lycia, so that the observable cultural and religious evolutions can be understood fully. As we said our main purpose is to understand whether religion holds a particular place in the evolution of culture, especially in a context where a local culture and society is subject to successive political upheavals. Lycia is indeed at a junction between

east and west and the Greeks, especially the Athenians, showed great interest in the region early on. Lycia was even part of the League of Delos for a little while in the middle of the fifth century, something we will come back to later on. From the Inscribed Pillar already mentioned we know that the Athenians threw an important force into trying to get the region back into the alliance. This period might have been a momentum for a growing Greek artistic and commercial influence, especially as we will later in the east of Lycia, but the cities among which Xanthos showed a growing interest for Greek art, language and myths. The divinities of the sanctuary received Greek names shortly afterward. By the end of the fourth century and the Macedonian conquest Greek is a commonly used language in inscriptions and the Greek counterparts of the Lycian divinities have replaced the local divinities in the sanctuary of the Letoon. During this transformation process, Lycia has known tremendous change in aspect and in the fourth century would have been very difficult to recognise for a sixth century Lycian. In the next three chapters we will try to follow chronologically the diverse upheavals and transformations and understand how and why Xanthos, the Letoon and local culture changed in the two centuries of Persian rule, starting in Chapter 1 with the exploration of the origins of the relationship between the Letoon and Xanthos and the beginning of the Persian occupation leading to the installation of local dynasts. In the second chapter we will explore the dramatic changes appearing in the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries, among which the more and more present Hellenic culture and the reigns of the last dynasts of Xanthos. In the third chapter we will try to understand the changes of behaviour of the Persian authorities following the reigns of the last Xanthian dynasts towards Lycia. In the fourth chapter we will go through the different elements of Greek and Persian culture which influenced our sources and material throughout the classical period up to the second rebuilding of the temples of the Letoon in the end of the third and beginning of the second century. Sardis will be a constant parallel to compare our observations in Xanthos to throughout the third and fourth chapter. We will show that despite the Greek and Persian elements and influences the material shows remarkable and unique Lycian traits born from the fusion of those Greek and Persian influences and the original native culture. In the fifth and final chapter we will finally see how the divinities of the Letoon went through this transformation to become different but very authentically Lycian in the end, cohering with ancient local beliefs and divinities. Therefore we will conclude that religion is part of the whole cultural development shown by other cultural artefacts. The same pattern applies the same way to religion, with the exception that we could see a certain increased conservatism in the way locals handled their religious matters with even more carefulness. The ancient original substance of the cults of the Letoon was still present when in the second century the temples were rebuilt in a very Hellenistic

fashion, and this at a moment when the native language had completely disappeared from the epigraphic corpus.

In the following section I will try to establish the origins of the link between Xanthos and the Letoon and the origins for the need from the Xanthians to establish a monumental sanctuary in its rural vicinities.

Chapter 1: The Letoon and the Lycian identity: an early history

By the middle of the third century BC, the Letoon had become a pan-Lycian sanctuary, the religious and symbolic centre of Lycia, and even one of the largest and most respected sanctuaries in Asia Minor, and in some Greek minds it was the birthplace of Artemis and Apollo (cf. fig.4 for today's appearance of the sanctuary). It did not, however, attain this reputation from inception. Our evidence and arguments over the next chapter will aim at showing how the Letoon acquired this status. From the evidence, we know that, beginning in the seventh century, the Letoon started to evolve in a dramatic manner especially when compared with the other smaller sanctuaries in Lycia, with which the Letoon was theologically linked. This is certainly partly due to its direct connection to what was slowly becoming the most prominent city in Lycia, Xanthos. The two entities have therefore known a parallel evolution and this at least until the second half of the fourth century. The prominence and development of the city drove its major sanctuary into becoming the major religious body of the region on a scale never seen before. Therefore, in this chronological history of the Letoon, we will almost always consider the Xanthos-Letoon as a political and cultural unit.

The evolution of the Letoon was indeed closely related to the political and military upheavals happening in the city of Xanthos as well as the various cities of the Xanthos valley, which were, for most of our period, closely geographically and politically associated to the city of Xanthos. In this chapter numerous issues will need addressing, the most important of which will be the understanding that religion and religious matters have not developed entirely separately from other societal and cultural aspects of the Xanthos-Letoon entity. In fact, religion in the Xanthos-Letoon evolved seemingly in step with the entire culture of the Xanthian population. To begin with, this chapter will give the chronological timeframe and the sources upon which such observations can be based.

Subsequently in this chapter, we will establish the task of understanding the cultural and political universe of the Xanthos/Letoon entity at the beginning of the archaeological era. We will also, in the following chapters, consider the various impacts of intersected cultural influences on Lycian society in the fifth and fourth century to understand how the Greeks and the Persians had in various ways influenced the social norms, politics, art and, ultimately, the practice of religion in the three centuries preceding the Macedonian conquest.

i-The first traces of settlements: archaic *Arinna* at the spearhead of Lycian urbanisation

In order to understand the evolution of Xanthian and Lycian cultural practices, it is necessary to examine the foundations of these civilisations. Since the beginning of our understanding of such phenomena is determined by the emergence of traces of settlement as well as archaeological artefacts, we shall start to consider the Lycian culture beginning at the end of the eighth century. Unfortunately, prior to this date, our understanding of the Lycian culture is extremely incomplete to say the least. It is salient to note that the first such archaeological remains found in Lycia are located in Xanthos and the Letoon, indeed placing Xanthos and the Letoon almost concomitantly at the spearhead of Lycian urbanisation. Around Xanthos, before the very end of the eighth century, we found almost nothing that could help us understanding the ancient Lycian culture. In Patara a polished-stone axe was found as well as a few ceramic fragments, both from the *Hadjilar* period (all circa. 6000 BC.). This seems of course irrelevant for our study except that it proves that the area was settled early on. In this unfavourable context we are trying to figure out what those first remains can tell us about the early city of Xanthos (cf. fig.5 for the map of the excavations on the site of Xanthos).

The Lycian Acropolis in Xanthos has given us no fragment prior to the eighth century. The earliest ceramic which remains in the Letoon is a Corinthian *aryballos* dated back to no earlier than the second half of the seventh century. The plateau of interior Lycia left few remains of the Bronze Age, for example in Elmali, the most well-known site of the area. It is only from the seventh century onwards that the wealth of archaeological evidence increases, as the excavations on the Lycian Acropolis have shown.⁸⁰

The main obstacle to for the observation of cultural and political phenomena prior to the Achaemenid invasion of Lycia surely is the lack of decisive materials. Indeed, earlier than the seventh century, the evidence is virtually non-existent. This is, however, an exception in Asia Minor and the Lycian civilisation seems to have been urbanised much later than its neighbouring regions. Xanthos and the Letoon were nonetheless at the spearhead of this trend in the region. It is therefore difficult to imagine in what form Lycian civilisation existed prior to the middle of the sixth century and most of the considerations relating to this period remain not much more than argued assumptions. In the words of Trevor Bryce, “after the collapse of the Bronze Age civilisations in the twelfth century BC, the *Lukka* people, perhaps with an admixture of immigrant refugees from Crete and other regions, became the

⁸⁰ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « L'Archéologie du peuple lycien », pp.124-126 in FROMENTIN, Valérie and S. GOTTELAND, Sophie (ed), *Origines gentium*, Bordeaux ; METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, Istanbul, pp. 77-84 ; PROST, Francis, 2007, « Identités des peuples, identités des cités : l'exemple lycien », in RICO, Christian and LUCE, Jean-Marc (ed), *Les identités ethniques dans le monde grec, actes du Colloque international de Toulouse organisé par le CRATA, 9-11 mars 2006*, Toulouse, p.104.

basic stock of the Lycian civilisation.” This civilisation had finally developed and flourished in the seventh century and left us then with numerous archaeological remains in various sites, especially the noticeable cliffs and freestanding rock tombs, but also its splendid silver coinage, and was unique in its use of a distinctive language, still unfortunately only partly, deciphered, even though progresses in its understanding are constantly being made.⁸¹

Following the lead of Bryce’s work,⁸² it seems that the Lycians were an Indo-European people of the Luwian family. Those Luwians occupied Asia Minor from the third millennium BC onward.⁸³ They shared many characteristics with the people from the interior of Asia Minor, including their Near Eastern background. Like their relatives of Luwian descent, the Lycians turned later to the Greek world’s forms of arts when their wealth grew in parallel to the new urban forms of settlement, especially in the sixth century BC. In that respect the architecture and the art of Lycia, as well as the language, were the results of the confluence of three quite distinct traditions, the local, the Near Eastern and the Greek ones.

Tombs are our main sources for these observations. They have generally two characteristics, first they are all above ground and second they are mostly substantial, noticeable monuments. Many of the large tombs were put in or close to the city centres and therefore might have served as more than funerary monuments. In Xanthos and the rest of Lycia, the tombs were in most cases originally built outside the city-walls and may have been incorporated by later extensions. However the pillar tombs to the north of the fortified Lycian Acropolis were certainly in a developed section of the city, and were thus exceptional even by Lycian standards. They were extraordinary in size and excessively demonstrative, thus marking a certain reverence to local chieftains and leaders or dynasts as modern historiography has chosen to call them. In that respect, the more recent Nereid Monument, constructed in the fourth century, must have sat within the city limits, and therefore this pattern of dynastic burial may have had a significant meaning to the Xanthians, probably rooted into earlier Lycian traditions. This long-lasting reverence to their important people in ways that are unique compared to all other urbanistic influences the Lycian people may have been subjected to seems to reach out to their earliest culture and tradition.

⁸¹ Quote and reflections from BRYCE, Trevor, 1996, “The Gods and Oracles of Ancient Lycia”, in DILLON, Matthew (ed), *Religion in the Ancient World: New themes and approaches*, Amsterdam, p.41.

⁸² BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Copenhagen.

⁸³ NEUMANN, Günter, 1969, “Lykisch, Altkleinasiatische Sprachen”, *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I vol.2, parts 1-2, fasc. 2, Leiden, p.358-96.

The affiliation of early Xanthos (seventh/early sixth century) with the Near-Eastern world is attested in the early architecture. The archaic buildings of Xanthos were seemingly concentrated around the small and fortified acropolis, also known by scholars as the Lycian Acropolis, which concentrated the symbolic and key buildings of the city. This type of city, with a small-fortified acropolis and unfortified area around, is also found in, for example, Sardis and elsewhere in Asia Minor.⁸⁴ It is not therefore a Lycian particularity, but seems to be based on a wider regional and cultural sphere than Lycia itself. Moreover the archaic buildings of Xanthos are well within the norms of Anatolian tradition, without substantial borrowings from any Greek tradition. The question of the Neo-Hittite⁸⁵ influence is not legitimate only regarding the *orthostates*⁸⁶ used in the buildings but also as well as the sculpted bas-reliefs discovered in the eastern sector of the city.⁸⁷ The existence of Xanthos in the Hittite period is moreover attested in the thirteenth century hieroglyphic inscription of Yalburt by the name *Awarna*, which seems to attest that not only Xanthos, but the whole Xanthos valley was considered as an urbanised part of the *Tarhuntassan* dominions, with recognised and significant settlements.⁸⁸ Nevertheless as we stated before, despite this attested existence in the second millennium BC, nothing pre-dating the seventh century has been dug out, except for a polished stone-axe discovered in 2004 east of the Nereid terrace.⁸⁹ The primary city of *Armna* (the name of the city in the native inscriptions, hence the link with the *Awarna* from the Yalburt inscription) therefore was of the form which does not leave archaeological traces, maybe dominated by wooden or other forms of temporary structures.

The Luwian inscription of Yalburt of the third quarter of the thirteenth century relates the campaigns of the Hittite king Thudaliya IV. It mentions the names of sites such as *Awarna*,

⁸⁴ CHILDS, William A.P., 1978, *The City-Reliefs of Lycia*, Princeton, p.4.

⁸⁵ Yet another term used to name the Luwian civilisation when the understanding of this era was limited to the affiliation of the Luwian inscribed language with the Hittite one. The Luwian archaeological remains seemed at first to be a revival, centuries later, of the Hittite empire in Cilicia and Syria. David Hawkins has shown dynastic links between the Hittite emperors and Neo-Hittite kings in Syria. We know now that we are facing a different civilisation, even though evidently culturally linked. The usage of the term neo-Hittite is still in use to describe the Luwian era and linguistic and cultural sphere which extended to much of western Anatolia in addition to Syria and Cilicia.

⁸⁶ squared stone blocks standing upright, taller than large, usually built in Greek or Assyrian into the lower portion of a wall, or in other cultures' architecture, for example in the erection of Menhirs.

⁸⁷ METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, Istanbul, pp. 77-84.

⁸⁸ POETTO, Massimo, 1993, *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt, Nuove acquisizioni relative alla geroglifica dell'Anatolia sud-occidentale*, Studia Mediterranea 8, Pavia ; HAWKINS, David, 1995, "The hieroglyphic inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa", *Studien zu den Bogazkoy-Texten*, Beiheft 3, pp.68-85 ; HAWKINS, David, 2009, "The Arzawa letters in recent perspective", *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 14, pp.73-83.

⁸⁹ DES COURTILS, Jacques and alii, 2005, « Xanthos: rapport sur la campagne de 2004 », *Anatolia Antiqua, Eski Anadolu* 13, Institut français d'études anatoliennes Georges Dumézil, Paris, pp.454.

Dalawa, and *Wijanawanda* in which the sites of Xanthos, Tlos, and Oinoanda are respectively recognised by scholars, as well as Pinara which conserved its name in Hittite, Greek and Lycian alike.⁹⁰ Those are probably not cities so to speak yet or at least not in the form of stone-built settlements, but rather agro-pastoral seasonal habitations, and places of refuge in times of hardship, and maybe, therefore, with primitive forms of fortifications and space limitations, but to what extent they were centralized seats of administration or power is elusive. The city per se is only starting to exist at the end of the eighth century and more surely in the seventh century; it is during this phase that urbanisation began leaving traces visible on site today. Jacques Des Courtils notices that, as far as we can observe, Lycian urbanisation is to some extent linked with the presence of Greek ceramics, which appear on the site of Xanthos at the beginning of the sixth century, as if the urban phenomenon in Lycia was explainable only through the prism of Greek influence.⁹¹ We should rather realise that our understanding of the Lycian urban phenomenon starts with the emergence of contacts with the outside world and especially with the Greek world, the latter already being very active commercially with its neighbours. Before the 'Hellenophile' phase, the urban memory of the Lycians seems rather inaccessible to us.⁹² These ceramics are, if confirmed by further research, the first signs of Hellenic influence on Lycian civilisation. Once more, the establishment of trade links, and especially the exports of ceramics, from the Greek world to the peripheral regions seems to be the main factor of early Greek influence on its neighbours. These ceramics were the main vector of Greek imagery and cultural attractiveness. Xanthos is one more example of such phenomenon. Even though in the first century of urbanisation Xanthos does not show any other sign of Greek cultural influence beyond the presence of the ceramics, these first Hellenistic artistic imports certainly influences the later attraction of the Xanthian elite towards Greek arts and culture.

Coming back to the first buildings which left archaeological traces, the building called Building A, dating back to the beginning of the sixth century, in the first phase of urbanised occupation, and destroyed in the second half of the sixth century, has been compared by Henri Metzger to a building on the site of Zincirli (beginning seventh century). He described

⁹⁰ POETTO, Massimo, 1993, *L'iscrizione luvio-geroglifica di Yalburt, Nuove acquisizioni relative alla geroglifica dell'Anatolia sud-occidentale*, Studia Mediterranea 8, Pavia.

⁹¹ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « L'Archéologie du peuple lycien », in FROMENTIN, Valérie and S. GOTTELAND, Sophie, *Origines gentium*, Bordeaux, pp.124-126 ; METZGER, Henri, 1972, with the collaboration of VON BOTHMER, Dietrich and COLDSTREAM, John Nicolas, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV, Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, Istanbul, p.61-68 ; METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, pp. 77-84.

⁹² PROST, Francis, 2007, *Identités des peuples, identités des cités : l'exemple lycien*, in Les identités ethniques dans le monde grec, Colloque International, Pallas, Toulouse, 2007, p.104.

it as the first residence of the dynast of Xanthos.⁹³ This residence was built in a North-Syrian architectural tradition, though this pattern may have originated in Anatolia. This is a habitation house of a certain size and with several rooms. It bears resemblance to some edifices of the Syro-Hittite cities of south-eastern Anatolia, like the frequent *bit hilani* of those regions, though with remarkable and significant differences. Thus the links between Lycia and Northern Syria/Eastern Anatolia are not to be totally excluded but rather appear unlikely since this building remains an isolated example in Lycia as a whole. It will therefore be interesting to ascertain whether or not the filiations between Luwians and Lycians, especially noticeable in linguistic matters, is translatable in terms of architecture.⁹⁴ North of the building A were found the remains of what seems to be the foundations of the first sanctuary of *intra muros* Xanthos. The bichromatic ceramics found there are of Anatolian origins.⁹⁵ The building of this primitive sanctuary seems to date back in the seventh century, and was destroyed at the same time as the Building A. The building was abandoned and the temple transferred to a new building adjacent to the north, the so-called “three *cellae* temple” or “triple *cellae* building” (which we will discuss further in this chapter). The offerings of the old temple were relocated in an underground room (*favissa*).⁹⁶ These attest the presence early on of cults within the city limits, and especially next to the city centre and probable seat of power. This might suggest that in that period the importance of the Letoon site as the main focus of Xanthian religion was not yet factual. It is only with the expansion, in size as well as in terms of regional influence, which the city experiences over in the following decades that the need for a more important external sanctuary for a growing population might have emerged.

Amongst the first buildings, building A, aforementioned, is not an *hilani* as suggested before, but most probably a typical local form of building, confirming the suspicion from the ceramic evidence that Xanthos in its first period of urbanisation was not straightforwardly open to outside influences, but rather created a local blend that was overwhelmingly unique to them, with its own practices dominating the intrinsic aspects of the artefacts.⁹⁷ It may also suggest that, despite the lack of evidence prior to the seventh century, the Lycians had a

⁹³ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la decouverte du monde Lycien et perspectives nouvelles offertes à l'étude des périodes pré-hellénistiques en Lycie », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 89, p.11-2.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ METZGER, Henri, 1972, with the collaboration of VON BOTHMER, Dietrich and COLDSTREAM, John Nicolas, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV, Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, Istanbul, p.61-68.

⁹⁶ CAVALIER, Laurence, 2006, « Observations sur l'architecture de Xanthos à l'époque archaïque », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 108, vol.1, p.327-330.

⁹⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1972, with the collaboration of VON BOTHMER, Dietrich and COLDSTREAM, John Nicolas, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV, Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'acropole lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, Istanbul, p.192; CAVALIER Laurence, 2006, « Observations sur l'architecture de Xanthos à l'époque archaïque », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 108, vol.1, p.343.

particular architectural and building tradition borrowing from the closest available examples to translate into their new age of stone-building . Generally the archaic Lycian techniques of building appear to be in the same vein as the Hittite ones, especially the widespread usage of wood until the end of the fifth century.⁹⁸ It would hence seem that the Lycians had inherited, at least partly, their techniques from the Hittite/Luwian world, with particularities unique to them. We are here observing the defining example of that technical blending of different aspects from different provenances which ultimately defines the uniqueness of the Lycian materials. The first cities of Lycia to develop, expand and last, had borrowed from the closest, most available examples of developed settlements, namely the Luwian areas of influence.

The three oldest remains of the city are bas-reliefs, dating back to the end of the eighth century. There are the only remains prior to the seventh century found in the area around Xanthos. Two of them are Lions found on a terrace east of the Nereids, probably parts of a prestigious building or a funerary monument, and bas-relief depicting a bull, probably from the same workshop.⁹⁹, from when the Lycian acropolis was settled, are part of limited number of pieces of evidence, but are the significant indicators of the settled activity around the site of Xanthos. The first ones are the two aforementioned incomplete bas-reliefs figuring images of Lions, these are other witnesses of foreign imports. One of them is only the forepart with an upraised paw. The other one seems to be walking. The whole scene might have been a queue of animals, a motif well-known in Near Eastern art and Hittite and Neo-Hittite art. Des Courtils calls them “*Gréco-perse*” and “*d’ascendance Neo-Hittite*”.¹⁰⁰ Nowhere in Lycia have we found traces of neo-Hittite installation, despite the evidence of Neo-Hittite influences over the archaic architecture of Xanthos. The inscription of Yalbur shows that Xanthos-Awarda and other cities from the Xanthos valley (Patara, Pinara, Tlos, Oinoanda) existed. Tudhaliya IV erected an altar on the mount Patara, razed Pinara before going to Xanthos, then Tlos, and thus controlled the valley of the Xanthos river in the second half of the thirteenth century. The disappearance of the Hittite empire and its survival in Syria and South-East Anatolia does not seem to have concerned Xanthos in the first millennium. So the influence must have been indirect, maybe through Phrygia, allied to the Neo-Hittites against the Assyrians in the end of the eighth century, but the absence of Phrygian ceramics is disturbing, especially since the first fragments of ceramics found on site are from the eighth century. The other hypothesis could be that the first installation of

⁹⁸ CAVALIER Laurence, 2006, « Observations sur l’architecture de Xanthos a l’époque archaïque », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 108, vol.1, p.337.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 1995, « Un nouveau bas-relief archaïque de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique* , p.351 ; we will discuss the concept of Graeco-Persian materials in chapter 3.

Xanthos before the eighth century might have been somewhere else than on the Lycian acropolis. This is an attractive idea, especially when compared to the alternative hypothesis that the city might have been born *ex-nihilo*.¹⁰¹ I would rather think that the first city was on the site of the archaic acropolis and around it, but that the Lycian civilisation was of the semi-nomadic type, leaving very little (or no) remains of substantial buildings. The “triple-cellae building” type of construction is a usual feature of the countries of the eastern Mediterranean. The Xanthian example shows that this kind of building also existed in Southern Anatolia. Other buildings were constructed in the central Anatolian fashion, tainted with unique Lycian features on the mode of the funerary pillars.

All those archaeological remains are the first traces of Lycian urban life. But we stated before that some Lycian urban centres can be traced back up to the second millennium, at least in epigraphic sources, but were then probably much too small or inappropriate to be spoken of as proper towns with the noticeable example of Xanthos. Clearly a Lycian-wide movement of massive urbanisation seems to take place in the course of the classical period in the seventh and sixth centuries, reaching a critical point in the first half of the fifth century.¹⁰² The main centres were Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos, Myra and the site of Avsar Tepesi (probably Zagaba, the population may have been moved into Kyaneai which became a proper Hellenistic polis in the Hellenistic period). At that time settlements were fortified, enclosing an area of 10 to 25 ha, inhabited by 1,000 to 1,500 within the walls with the notable exception of Xanthos which might have reached as much as 2,500 inhabitants. Tlos, Phellos, Apollonia and Pinara were important seats of dynasts too, but their sites have not been thoroughly excavated yet. They were from that point on proper towns or cities, but in no way can we say that they were yet copies of Greek *poleis* which we wrongly tend to accept as the only legitimate urban pattern in this period. It seems that Lycia, and so not only the site of Xanthos itself, was urbanised before it was hellenised. In addition to these towns, the Lycian landscape was dotted with small fortified hill-top settlements.¹⁰³ This surely makes sense in a geographical area defined by an alluvial valley, only route of communication, dominated by peaks on both sides. This coordination in the urban development of Lycia might be seen as the existence of a somewhat political and/or cultural entity in the area following the Xanthos River’s basin. The precocious Xanthos at the centre

¹⁰¹ CAVALIER Laurence, 2006, « Observations sur l’architecture de Xanthos à l’époque archaïque », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 108, vol.1, p.349-351.

¹⁰² MARKSTEINER, Thomas, 2002, “Stadtische Strukturen im vorhellenistischen Lykien”, in HANSEN Mogens H. (ed), *A comparative study of six city-states cultures, An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, *Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter* 27, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, p.63-68.

¹⁰³ HANSEN, Mogens H., 2002, “Introduction”, in HANSEN, Mogens H. (ed), *A comparative study of six city-states cultures, An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, *Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter* 27, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, p.9.

of the region and demographically dominant would lead us to believe that early on the city was at the spearhead of the economic, cultural and demographic development of Lycia in the eve of the seventh century. This would certainly have been favoured by the geographical situation of the city surrounded by fertile land, at the centre of the valley and not coastal but close enough to the sea.

To sum up, Lycia probably was, prior to the seventh century, a region inhabited by semi-nomadic people of at least partial Luwian origins, who probably shared their time between the fertile valley and most likely the nearby mountains, a pattern found very frequently in the plains of modern southern Turkey. They were certainly sharing their time between their herds and cultivation. Such practices were still in use in Roman Cilicia¹⁰⁴ to escape the unhealthy climate of the alluvial plains in the very hot and humid summer of the plains of coastal Anatolia. The presence of the lion *bas-reliefs* on the site of Xanthos shows that the site was somewhat marked and occupied. From the seventh century onwards, the site is the first in Lycia to feature stone buildings, preceding a Lycian-wide movement of urbanisation which reaches a peak in the fifth century under Persian rule. This phenomenon is concomitant with the appearance of foreign, and especially Greek, ceramics and especially Greek. In our perspective, we are to see if the Letoon development follows Xanthos in this timeline and what is the situation of religious *Armna* in these first phases of occupation was.

Herodotus (I.28) claims that the Lycians and the Cilicians were the only people not subdued by the Lydians west of the Halys. If so, Lycia remained relatively free of foreign control until the Persian invasion in the 540s. Indeed, it was not long before the Persian invasion that a Lycian civilization emerges at least in terms of stone-based settlements and archaeological material. In this perspective, Lycian urban civilisation developed relatively free of foreign political influence. Henceforth it seems that the Lycian culture was progressively included into the post-Luwian Anatolian cultural area while conserving unique peculiarities which might date back to the pre-Luwian era. Nevertheless the Luwian substrate was the basis for an urbanised Lycian civilisation.

ii-The division of roles between the Letoon and Xanthos

Following those pre-historical considerations, it is, therefore, necessary to explore further the relationship between Xanthos and the Letoon. The Letoon is after all a rural sanctuary four kilometres away as the crow flies (7 kilometres taking the modern road) from the city of

¹⁰⁴ SAYAR, Mustafa H., 2007, "Historical development of urbanization in Cilicia in Hellenistic and Roman periods", in URSO, Gianpaolo (ed), *Tra Oriente e Occidente : indigeni, Greci e Romani in Asia Minore : atti del convegno internazionale : Cividale del Friuli, 28-30 settembre 2006*, ETS, Pisa, p.247-257.

Xanthos. Nonetheless it seems that the Letoon was an important centre of cult for the area around. At that period it does not seem that Patara was an urban centre of any significance as Xanthos was. We pointed out the similarities in timeline between the first remains found on both sites of Xanthos and the spring, around the beginning of the seventh century. These seem to show that early on the spring around which the Letoon was built later on was a sacred site for locals. But the city of Xanthos was nonetheless not deprived of its own places of cult.

The early religion in Xanthos was based around the “triple *cellae* building” of probable cultic purpose on the Lycian acropolis,¹⁰⁵ on which site, later on, in the Hellenistic period, an important temple was built probably for Artemis.¹⁰⁶ However despite those two probable religious installations within the city walls of Xanthos, later in the Classical period, the city did not seem to have any important religious installation *intra-muros*, despite being the political centre of at least the whole Xanthos valley. It is also significant that very few temples have been found in Lycia outside Xanthos (though this may be due to the lack of extensive excavations), and none of these few were built prior to the Hellenistic period. In that respect the Letoon temples were an exception. The other exception is possibly a building on the Lycian acropolis built during the first-phase of occupation.¹⁰⁷ We could legitimately assume that the pattern for Xanthos with its rural sanctuary, placed on a significant natural point, was an usual Lycian pattern. Hittite and Luwian Anatolia have many examples of such configurations. The usage of religious buildings within the city boundaries seems to have been limited, at first, then to progressively disappear, especially after the devastation of the archaic city of Xanthos following the Persian conquest. This disappearance was probably simultaneous with the growing role of the sacred spring of the Letoon as the city’s primary cult centre.

Unfortunately the original character of the divinity(-ies) worshipped in Xanthos and/or the Letoon in the archaic period is not known yet and we can only extrapolate from later facts. Certainly the cult was centred around the spring. The sanctuary of the Letoon was also

¹⁰⁵ METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L’Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d’archéologie, Istanbul, p.29-36 (in the second half of the sixth century BC, a new building have succeeded to, while respecting the shape, of a primitive installation).

¹⁰⁶ METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L’Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d’archéologie, Istanbul, p.40-42 (fifth century BC, probably after 470 ; next to it a small hellenistic altar erected under Ptolemy Epiphanes was dedicated to Artemis Ephesia was found), the inscription TAM II, 1, 263 (not found *in situ*) reveals that a temple of Artemis was built in the same time than the altar and also an agalma by the hegemon who is an Aitolos, but has a Xanthian mother: TAM II 1, 264, 267-9.

¹⁰⁷ FREZOULS, Edmond, 1993, « Les cultes de la Lycie occidentale », in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.204.

conceived against the hill in the north-east, but rested on a spongy and muddy soil, making it important later on to fill in the foundations when restoring or rebuilding all or parts of the Letoon.¹⁰⁸ The form that the Letoon took in the early days of Xanthos as an urban centre is unclear too. The remains of the first buildings date back to the fourth century, but the temples of that period were built on or even contained some previous temples. The excavations in the spring have produced a votive gift of a ceramic figurine by the worshipper supposed to represent him dating back to the seventh century, which go to substantiate that there was indeed a level of symbolic immersion, of a ceramic figurine by the worshipper supposed to represent him.¹⁰⁹ These are the oldest traces of activities on the Letoon and are as old as the first archaeological evidence on Xanthos' acropolis (though these are mostly ceramics while in the case of Xanthos we have buildings remains and bas-reliefs) and could be dated back to the beginning of the seventh century, even maybe to the end of the eighth. In fact, the oldest piece of ceramic in the Letoon is a graffito which could either be interpreted as a trace of a private property or an *ex-voto*. However, whatever this was, it shows that the extent of the settlement was as wide as the classical sanctuary, being naturally delimited by the spring, the swamps and the hills above. One of the early *ex-votos* found in the spring, south of the rock terrace, is of a late archaic style, from the sixth century to be precise, and south-west of the water-point, a cumulus of archaic figurines was found.¹¹⁰ This shows that the sanctuary was settled very early on and that the spring constituted the primary cultic focal point. The spring was a frequented venue for pilgrims, probably from Xanthos, and perhaps, further away in the region of the Xanthos valley.

The precise timeline for the establishment of the sanctuary is hard to determine because a thorough excavation is technically difficult, due to the marshy nature of the soil, though the evidence so far points to extensive settlement in the period around the seventh/sixth century BC. This is concomitant with the evidence found in Xanthos. The presence in the stratum of burnt animal bones (hence of probable ritual sacrifices) dating back to the end of the archaic period indicates that the space had already been occupied and sacred since the earliest period

¹⁰⁸ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « Portiques du Letoon de Xanthos », *Compte rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-lettres*, p.616; DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2009, "From Elyanas to Leto : The physical evolution of the sanctuary of Leto at Xanthos", in GATES, Charles, MORIN, Jacques and ZIMMERMANN, Thomas, *Sacred landscapes in Anatolia and neighboring regions*, Oxford, p.63-67.

¹⁰⁹ LE ROY, Christian, 1988, « La source sacrée du Létœon de Xanthos et son dépôt votif », *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, p.125-131.

¹¹⁰ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létœon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-342 ; METZGER, Henri and BOURGAREL, André, 1992, « La région nord du Létœon : les sculptures, les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes », in *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, Institut français d'études anatoliennes, Istanbul ; METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, p.77-80 ; KEEN, Antony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with foreign powers, c. 545-362 BC*, Brill, Leiden, p.195.

of settlement.¹¹¹ The addition of the probable *ex-votos* in the spring seems to indicate that the cult was well established around the seventh century BC. Nevertheless it is difficult to know if the space had been sacred and if any kind of cult and ritual had been practised there before the seventh century. According to the parallel excavations of the city of Xanthos, the town was settled around the same period, and the two sites are, as far as we know, the oldest proofs of settlement in the whole of Lycia. In Xanthos, the finding of the triple *cellae* temple from the sixth century on the acropolis of Xanthos which could be the place for a cult of an early divine triad according to Le Roy seems to indicate that the rise of Xanthos as an urban centre was accompanied with a rise in religious ceremonial. Although we shall come back to this later, it seems highly probable this building was a temple indeed.¹¹² The hypothetical presence of a triad's cult within this temple is less easy to argue for. We will further query this later on, especially in parallel with the later establishment of the Letoan triad within the Letoon's site. This tripartite construction is a common feature of buildings in the countries of the eastern Mediterranean. The Xanthian example shows that this kind of buildings also existed in meridional Anatolia.¹¹³ We will endeavour to show later on that this temple indeed had a religious purpose.

In the end I would dare say that this new Lycian type of settlements as well as the development of different traditions in cultic areas was the result of substantial migrations from maybe the core of the Luwian lands following the collapse of the Luwian kingdoms of the western Anatolia. Some more formal cult would have come as part of their baggage alongside their more structured urban way of life. It is probably in this period at end of the second millennium that the Letoon grew in importance in the tradition of the Anatolian rural sanctuaries and started supplanting the places of worship within the city of Xanthos itself as the main Xanthian place of worship. It is therefore not impossible that some form of worship was still performed within the city, on a private or public scale. No building so far seems to have been a place of worship after the destruction of the triple *cellae* structures during the Persian military campaigns in the regions.

There is also something significant happening about the Letoon and the situation of Xanthos in the Lycian-wide context. The main divinity of the site which appears in the native

¹¹¹ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, "Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos", *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, pp.619-620.

¹¹² LE ROY, Christian, 1993, « Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérés au Létôon de Xanthos » in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (eds.), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.244 ss.

¹¹³ METZGER, Henri, 1987, *Etapes de la decouverte du monde Lycien*, Revue des Etudes Anciennes 89, p.12.

inscriptions of the sixth century seems to have had a strong relationship with, and even more, a supremacy over the divinities of the same nature around Lycia.

iii-Eni mahanahi (annis massanassis), eni qlahi ebiyehi : the rise of the Letoon as the Lycian religious centre

We will endeavour later on in the fifth chapter to further appraise the nature of the rituals and the divinities which became the Letoan triad later on, but it is worthwhile at this point to mention that in Kultepe, one of the major Hittite sites in Cappadocia, a statuette of the ancient Bronze age of the end third-beginning second millennium BC was found picturing a Mother-Goddess carrying two little feminine figures.¹¹⁴ Near Antalya, an ivory statuette representing a woman accompanied by two children, a boy and a girl, was found in a Phrygian character burial and was dated back from the end of the eighth /beginning of the seventh century by archaeologists on the excavation site but is probably a bit posterior to that. We most probably have here a divine-looking offering.

This could be the proof that a triad of the type of the Apollonian triad existed in Southern Anatolia as early as the archaic period, and, therefore the arrival of the Greek cults (Leto, Apollo and Artemis in the case of Xanthos) matched perfectly with a former Anatolian counterpart. The cults in the Letoon may have included so form of primitive triad formed around the *eni mahanahi*, the native name of the main Letoon's divinity. This Lycian native Mother-Goddess may have been one form of the aforementioned Anatolian triad. In that regard, we cannot, therefore, ignore that this early Anatolian form of triad is not without resemblance to the triple cellae temple of the sixth century on the acropolis of Xanthos, and we could therefore put forward the idea that this temple was the place for a cult of an early divine triad, an urban annex of the rural Letoon.¹¹⁵

The Lycian 'mother of the gods' (*eni mahanahi* in the native inscriptions of Xanthos)¹¹⁶ was known in Luwian as *annis massanassis* according to Laroche and may well have been introduced into Lycia by the Luwian speaking Lukka people sometime after 1200 BC. She was known outside Xanthos as 'mother of this sanctuary/precinct' (*eni qlahi ebiyehi*) in Tlos (TL 26), Antiphellos (TL 56), Isinda (TL 65), Myra (TL 94) and especially (TL

¹¹⁴ EDGU, Ferit and AKURGAL, Ekrem, 1983, *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Sergi Kataloğu : Catalogue de l'exposition des civilisations anatoliennes*, Istanbul, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı I, n. 272 p.121.

¹¹⁵ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, « Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérées au Letoon de Xanthos » in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (eds.), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.241 sq.

¹¹⁶ TL 44.

102,110,112,131,145) reflecting the goddess' importance throughout the whole country, though not as a national goddess, but as a unique goddess for each precinct or district.¹¹⁷ It shows that the development of the Letoon was probably preceded by the development of a common religious sense which for some reason was led by the divinity in the Letoon. Nevertheless, she was not seen as a global regional or national goddess, but rather as a local goddess, belonging to a precise district, or a particular precinct, although between all of them a link was known and expressed in the names of the divinities. The terms used by the locals to designate their cult seem to indicate that the prime status of the divinity in the Letoon was accepted as such early on.

There is a hence strong evidence suggesting a link between the cult in the triple *cellae* building in Xanthos and the one in the Letoon that I will discuss further on in the fifth chapter. Therefore, if that is the case, it is also significant that the cult within the city was abandoned at the same time that the ritualism and monumental aspect of the cult in the Letoon started to grow in importance. In the mid-sixth century the "triple-*cellae* building" was destroyed and at the time no temple was seemingly rebuilt in its place. On those points we can so far only conclude that the cult of the Letoon was of apparent Luwian heritage and was developing as the main Lycian sanctuary in the seventh/sixth centuries, as well as becoming the main place of worship for the city of Xanthos that was itself developing as the main urban centre in Lycia. These parallel developments were probably linked and constituted the basis for the expansion of Xanthos as the dynastic and religious centre of Persian Lycia from the mid-fifth century onward.

iv-The Persian invasion and the role of the Xanthians: already a people apart in Lycia

These cultural and religious changes were ultimately triggered by a political event of magnitude. Xanthos and Lycia were finally conquered between 546 and 538 BC by Harpagus, the first of Cyrus' generals, during his military campaigns in Asia Minor during which the city was destroyed (Herodotus I.176), and in 516/5 BC, Lycia was included amongst the states constituting the first satrapy. That is on this occasion that the triple-*cellae* building was destroyed.

Herodotus (I.28), himself a native of Caria and therefore in a favourable position to understand those matters, claims that the Lycians and the Cilicians were the only people resisting the Lydians west of the Halys. Before the 540s the Lycians were therefore independent of foreign control. Indeed, as we stated before it was not long before the Persian

¹¹⁷ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia*, 32, p.5.

invasion that a Lycian civilization emerges, at least in terms of hard settlements. It is credible that the Persians only readjusted the previous situation of semi-independent cities under the rule of different dynasts. If so this would support the idea that there was in Lycia prior to the 540s some form of loose administration and organisation, and maybe collaboration. According to Herodotus' narrative (I.176), the Xanthian army was destroyed in a last suicidal attack on Harpagus' army and the city of Xanthos was destroyed following that very last onslaught.¹¹⁸ Before the attack, the Xanthians had massacred their own children and wives and went to meet a certain death in the last doomed military effort. This also shows that the Xanthians had an administrative structure able to deploy an army of some sort. The reconstruction and repopulation of Xanthos that followed was undoubtedly conducted under Persian authority and they gave the initial stimulus for political and administrative developments of the fifth and fourth centuries as well as the establishment of the ruling dynasty in Xanthos.¹¹⁹

Right after the Persian conquest in the 540s, Lycia was under Persian rule (Herodotus III.90) but seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. It seems, from the oldest coins, that there was some kind of political cooperation between the cities of the region, although there was no unified political entity which used the cities as simple administrative and economic centres. The standards, weights and patterns are the same. The region was presumably split up into small polities each under the authority of a "dynast" (term never used in Lycian sources or any other contemporary sources but is a modern convention among scholars for Lycian rulers). The only equivalent term in the Lycian inscription is *khñtawata*, a noun that probably means 'authority' or 'rule'. Hill-top settlements or towns were centres of those polities. The towns of Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos, Myra and Avsar Tepesi are known, mainly from the coinage, to have been residences of local dynasts.

As we detailed in above previous sections, Xanthos and the Letoon have produced materials from the seventh century onwards, though it reaches a critical point in numbers and significance during the Persian "*occupation*". This was a period of important cultural influences for western Asia Minor from both the west and the east. This has been argued in numerous occasions; the wrongly so-called "*Graeco-Persian*" materials have been studied and discussed by many for some time now and are still the subject of a very passionate

¹¹⁸ For the evidence of the destruction as reflected in the excavation cf. METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II. L'acropole Lycienne*, I, p.17-18 and 31-2 and 46-7.

¹¹⁹ Herodotus calls the new inhabitants of Xanthos foreigners, except he says for eighty families gone away at the time of the onslaught (shepherds in the mountains, noble families?) ; he also reveals that the Kaunians had suffered the ordeal soon after.

debate.¹²⁰ Lately the growth of Persian studies have allowed scholars to recognize the true value and importance of Persian influence over the cultures, artefacts and societies of Anatolia, but also allowed classicists to extend their considerations to the achievements of local cultures, this without diminishing the obvious influence of the Greek world on the civilisations of Asia Minor. It is in that multi-cultural perspective that we should consider the Lycian materials from the Classical period.

At the time of Harpagus' conquest, Lycia *per se* must have been little more than the Xanthos valley, the rest of the future so-called Lycia was inhabited but certainly by mainly semi-nomadic small communities which may have had some cultural and ethnic affinities with the Xanthos valley but no or very little political coherence.¹²¹ There is indeed little doubt that early Lycian population was made up of different ethnic groups who seem to have entered the area during or following the upheavals which marked the end of the Bronze Age in the Near East. One of those groups, probably Luwian, would have triggered the expansion of urban areas and of the usage of stone in the buildings. In the following centuries, religious and cultural aspects (such as the language) would have standardised throughout the Xanthos valley, to finally form a cultural unit with strong political ties.

What is significant about the story of the destruction of the city of Xanthos and the fierce resistance to the invaders (whether true or not) is the renowned patriotic reputation of the Lycians and the Xanthians in particular. This would explain why after the conquest the Persian authorities did not bother too much with setting a firm direct control over Lycia but rather let the Lycians govern themselves as long as the dynasts ultimately recognized the authority of Persia and the neighbouring satraps. Cynically we could suppose that it was so as long as the Lycians were regularly paying their financial dues.

For the Persian rule to be effective the locals were required to accept and adopt the culture and structure of the new ruler. The Persian authority should therefore have had a considerable impact on the artefacts and culture of Xanthos. The status of Xanthos and Lycia under Persian rule is of a peculiar nature. It appears that during the more than two centuries between the Persian invasion led by Harpagus and the Greek invasion led by Alexander, the Lycians enjoyed a form of semi-independence under Persian rule, and this with almost no interruption. In the following chapter, we will try to understand how and in which ways the

¹²⁰ Cf. DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, for one of the most recent contributions and an exhaustive historiography on the topic, The term "Graeco-Persian" comes from the first studies on this type of materials which failed to consider the native forms of imagery and the complex forms of cultural influences that resulted in the production of these materials.

¹²¹ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Copenhagen, p.40.

Persians had an impact on the culture, the institutions and the place of Xanthos within the Lycian world. It will appear that the impact of the Persian culture in Xanthos was somewhat limited, especially when compared to some other examples of regional capitals in Asia Minor where the Persians kept a direct hand in internal matters, but is nonetheless significant in understanding the evolution of Xanthos as a classical city.

In this context it is important to consider how Hellenic and Persian elements had penetrated the Lycian culture and way of life through international contacts to help us understand the way in which the cults of the Letoon evolved during this classical era. Despite this, the Lycian culture remained particular and uniquely Lycian. With this in mind we will separate the Persian-dominated period into two sub-periods. The first one, subject of this chapter, which we will conveniently call the Dynastic period due to the existence of several Lycian dynasts to whom the Persian authorities gave relative autonomy, extends from the Persian invasion so to speak to the inclusion within the Carian satrapy following a satrapic revolt in the beginning of the fourth century. The second period is the satrapal period, during which the region is incorporated into the Carian satrapy under the rule of the Hekatomnids and until Lycia became part of the Macedonian dominion following the invasion led by Alexandre the Great and the subsequent Hellenistic era.

During this initial period of Persian rule, roughly from the 540s to the 370s, we observe a modification of the evidence produced by the city of Xanthos and the Letoon, with the city finally leaving remains in quantity and quality. The Lycians were not isolated prior to the arrival of the new Persian rulers. Influences from the rest of Anatolia and the Near-East had already penetrated the region in the centuries prior to our period of study.¹²² But for the first time a newly urbanised Lycia is exposed to the strong – yet somewhat loose within the imperial context - rule of a foreign power which brings a lot of issues for the development of Lycian society. We also have to consider the proximity of the Greek world with which Lycia progressively built trade and cultural affinities during this period. During the fifth century, the rising Greek (and Athenian, especially) world, looking to expand its cultural and political sphere eastwards, had a profound and visible influence on Xanthos. In the next chapter we want to explore and understand the reaction of Lycian society and culture towards these events, starting with the first phase of the Persian rule, the Dynastic period.

¹²² Cf. HOUWINK TEN CATE, Philo H. J., 1961, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera in the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden ; cf. especially the first chapter of BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Vol. I of *The Lycians*, Copenhagen.

Chapter 2: The dynasty and the Achaemenidisation of the Xanthian society:

i-The Dynasts and the political institutions of the Lycian City

After the Persian conquest in the 540s, Lycia found itself under Persian rule¹²³ and remained so with almost no interruption until the Macedonian invasion, but seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy. The minting pattern of the dynasts of western Lycian cities suggests that there was some a form of political cooperation between the cities of the region under the rule of one or several dynasts at the same time, those cities therefore falling short of being city-states the way city-states were in Greece during the same period, even though most of them had their own mint.¹²⁴ The epigraphy offers confirmation of this statement.¹²⁵ In this constellation of dynasts and cities, Xanthos assumed the role of capital and the dynasts of Xanthos were overseeing and ruling over those other dynasts.¹²⁶ Although there was no unified political entity which used the cities as simple administrative and economic centres, the people of the Xanthos valley were interconnected through a hierarchism between local dynasts in which the rulers of Xanthos were certainly recognised as the legitimate authority. The region was presumably split up into small polities each under the authority of a “dynast” (term never used in Lycian sources or elsewhere but a modern convention among scholars for Lycian rulers). The only equivalent term in the Lycian inscription is *khñtawata*, a noun that probably means ‘authority’ or ‘rule’.¹²⁷ Either hill-top settlements or towns were centres of those small polities. So far the towns of Xanthos, Limyra, Telmessos, Myra and Avsar Tepesi are known to have been residences of local dynasts. This form of political entities was in operation before the arrival of the Persians.

Dynasts are not known from Greek authors, but only from Lycian inscriptions, *heroa* or pillar-tombs (of which forty are known),¹²⁸ and coins which are the best source to attest of the simultaneous existence of a plurality of polities. The names of fifty dynasts are attested on coins by twelve different mints. Given that these coins are spread over a period of approximately 120 years, the coinage supports the view that these dynasts were rulers rather than members of an aristocracy, corroborated by the small number of dynasts’ tombs.

¹²³ Herodotus III.90.1.

¹²⁴ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, Mnemosyne Supplements, New York, p.147-148.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p.46-50.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p.56-60.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p.46-50.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Obviously the dynasts were rulers of the towns in which their coins were minted, but the detail of who could mint where and why remains elusive, as does to the role of these potential 'kings' in Xanthos and their exact relationship with the other local dynasts in other towns. We have no source about the real powers of these dynasts, although some sources suggest they may have had to report to the satrap of Lydia, the first satrapy to which Lycia was attached. However local dynasts minted in their local mints and so had supreme power to do so at a local level.¹²⁹ This, added to the coinage, shows that dynasts probably also had some sort of judicial and legislative powers. Ultimately the exact extent of these powers remains vague at best.

Dynasts of Xanthos could also strike coins in several other towns. Therefore a dynast such as *Kuprilli*, coining in all major Lycian mints from ca. 470 BC to ca. 430 BC, would have been ruler of all or almost all of Lycia.¹³⁰ From ca. 380 to ca. 360, Perikles of Limyra set himself up as the ruler of eastern Lycia and minted in several places in the eastern Lycia's heavy standard¹³¹, before submitting the Xanthos valley to his rule and minting coinage there as well. This diversity and plurality of mints and coins lasted until the end of the dynastic period. We can assume that the shape of the dynasts' dominions had varied several times during the classical period. We cannot be sure that any of the local dynasts did not try to seize more power or that the Xanthian dynasts had always enough power to control them.¹³² Anyhow there would seem to have been a collaboration between local dynasts and their suzerain in Xanthos may be guaranteed by personal and familial links.¹³³

During this period of almost two centuries, Lycian towns seem to have been political centres of micro-states sometimes independent, sometimes hierarchically dependent under the supervision of leading dynasts. These towns must therefore have had a fully functional set of administration and infrastructures within their walls to be able to be ruled independently without an obligatory cooperation between the various Lycian towns. Therefore the parallel between Lycian cities and Greek poleis was made very early on by scholars. Lately the idea

¹²⁹ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "Political Unity in Lycia during the "Dynastic" Period", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.31-42.

¹³⁰ MØRKHOLM, Otto and ZAHLE, Jan, 1972, "The Coinage of Kuprilli", *Acta Archaeologica* 43, p.57-113.

¹³¹ KOLB, Frank and TIETZ, Werner, 2001, *Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien*, *Chiron* 31, p.397-401 (compared to the Rhodian light standard used in the west); CHILDS, William A. P., 1981, "Lycian Relations with Persians and Greeks in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries Re-Examined", *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.58.

¹³² KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.113, it seems however that local dynasts may have fought over for the supremacy of Xanthos.

¹³³ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "Political Unity in Lycia during the "Dynastic" Period", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.31-42.

that the ‘*polis*-isation’ of the Lycian towns might pre-date the Hekatomnid and Hellenistic periods has been denied.¹³⁴ Indeed these towns in the Dynastic period show no sign in any source of a citizen community or magistrates or even a council, a *prytaneion*, a *bouleuterion*, a theatre or a *stoa*, institutions necessary in a *polis*. On the contrary remains were found of what could be dynasts’ residences, something which could be called a palace. Not even in *poleis* governed by tyrants (perhaps the closest thing to a Lycian dynast in the Greek world?) can we find traces of a palace, at least prior to the Hellenistic period. There were no monumental temples in Lycian towns in contrast to classical Greek *poleis*. Although these towns may have been in many ways independent, we should not think of them as *poleis* in the strict Greek sense but rather territories centred around a town with a dynast who, especially in the case of Xanthos, might have to compete for the control of several towns at the same time, through family ties or military conflict (as we will see later on, at the time of Arbinas the Xanthian dynast seems to have had to face off competition to control the Xanthos’ valley).

The coinage undoubtedly shows some Greek influence but the legends remain in the Lycian language and alphabet. There are very few inscriptions in Greek in the Dynastic period and most of them are bilingual or even trilingual (with the Aramaic translation, the Achaemenid empire’s official language). Nevertheless the Greek look-alike characters of the epichoric language were certainly adopted sometime in the late sixth century, with the ever-growing contacts with Greek merchants, despite the Persian domination over the region.¹³⁵ Indeed Bryce¹³⁶ seems to think that the Rhodian trading migration of the Xanthos valley may have started in the seventh century in Patara, where they would have introduced the image of Apollo in a local oracular sanctuary. Indeed the presence of Apollo in Lycia is stirring up hot debate and we shall take a closer look into the nature of the divinities later on.¹³⁷ The appearance of the Lycian characters to write a language that is mainly Luwian is a strong marker of the early meeting of cultural influences in Lycia. It is certainly one of the

¹³⁴ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.53-4, Greek authors (Hekataeus, Pseudo-Skylax 100, Diodorus 11.60.5) use *pol(e)is* to describe dynastic times Lycian cities, this however does not imply independence or Hellenism: “Greek authors could happily conceive of barbarian *poleis*”. Arrian (I.24.4) uses *polisma* to speak about western Lycian settlements, a term similar to polis but mainly used about marginal areas: cf. KEEN, Anthony G., 2000, “The ‘Kings’ of Lycia in the Achaemenid period” in BROCK, Roger and HODKINSON, Stephen (ed), *Alternatives to Athens, Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece*, New York, p.270 plus cf. Note 4.

¹³⁵ HOUWINK TEN CATE, Philo H. J., 1961, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera in the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden.

¹³⁶ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.41.

¹³⁷ Cf. ch.5 here below.

strongest pieces of evidence for the multicultural influence the Lycian culture evolved under early on.

Even though Lycian towns were no *poleis* per se, Lycia may have followed a pattern close to the Greek model of city-state culture but there in Lycia based on an older indigenous tradition, with a number of micro-states with a small town as the economic, religious, political and social centre, as well as the state being named after the town itself. Thus *Arinna* (Lycian name of the Greek Xanthos) and *Zemuri* (Greek Limyra) were the names of urban centres, seats of power for whole territories, ruled by dynasts. The towns were the centres of districts which themselves somewhat behaved as independent micro-states. In the case of a dynast ruling more than one district at one time, they would behave as a federal state. Maybe these Dynasts' dominions behave also as a cultural sphere in which one dynast had a suzerain to vassal relationship with the local dynasts of lesser centres,¹³⁸ perhaps paired with familial links between the ruling family in Xanthos and local ruling families, therefore constituting a hierarchy in which Xanthos was at the centre, politically and culturally. The proof to that is that some dynasts were minting in various places at once.¹³⁹ Cohesion was a bonus for cities to survive and prosper but it may not have been necessarily required by the Persian rulers.

The region hence oscillates under the control of one or several dynasts. Surely the dynast of Xanthos, representing the Achaemenid king, the satrap of Lydia and as their main intermediary of power in the region, should have used this position as well as the size and economic importance of the city of Xanthos to legitimate a wider control over the whole of Lycia or at least of the Xanthos valley. The division between several dynasts is a strong Lycian peculiarity. In a city-state culture none of the city-states have enough power to subdue all the others and transform the region into one political unit, on a long-term basis at least. Local interests may have torn away some cities from others intermittently during the dynastic period.

Important studies about the political culture of Lycia¹⁴⁰ have shown that there may have been an indigenous Lycian city-states culture in the Dynastic period based on local Anatolian traditions. Carian and Achaemenid influences have had at least as much impact as

¹³⁸ FREI, Peter, 1990, "Die Götterkulte Lykiens in der Kaiserzeit", in HAASE, Wolfgang and TEMPORINI, Hildegard, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2, Band 18.3, Bonn, p.1737.

¹³⁹ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, Mnemosyne Supplements, Brill, New York, p.50-1.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. MARKSTEINER, Thomas, 2005, *Das achämenidenzeitliche Lykien*, Persika 6, p.27-48; DOMINGO-GYGAX, Marc, 2001, *Untersuchungen zu den lykischen Gemeinwesen in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*, Habelt, Bonn; KOLB, Frank and KUPKE, Barbara, 1992, *Lykien, Geschichte Lykiens im Altertum*, Mainz.

the Hellenic ones on the Lycian civilisation and although important it was not enough to alter the traditional local administrative structure. Hellenic influence gathered momentum in the Hekatomnid period and Lycian towns became proper *poleis* in the Hellenistic period, and eventually in the third/second centuries formed a federation on the Achaian and Aitolian models.¹⁴¹

Coming back to the aftermath of the Persian conquest, after circa. 540, the direct reconstruction and repopulation (cf. ch.1.ii) of Xanthos was undoubtedly conducted under the authority of the Persians and they gave the initial stimulus for political and administrative developments of the fifth and fourth centuries and for the establishment of the ruling dynasty in Xanthos. So in 516/5 BC, the Xanthian dynast was responsible for collecting the Lycia's share of the annual tribute of 400 talents of silver due by the first satrapy to Darius.¹⁴² Classical Xanthos was at this point a large town, especially by Lycian standards, but which showed above all, indigenous features, such as its ramparts, its isolated acropolis, and its tombs for their rulers in the very centre of the city,¹⁴³ although with a few Greek features especially the agora although completely obliterated today.¹⁴⁴

Regarding the influence of the Xanthian dynasts throughout Lycia, numismatic evidence indicates the extent of such influence throughout western and central Lycia, since coins bearing their names were minted in a number of cities in both regions. Moreover, it seems most likely that, as we said before, the forty or so other "dynasts" known to have issued coins in the same period were regional administrators who were subject to the overriding authority of the dynasts at Xanthos. Such deference to a central power was needed because of the limited power of any city-state's dynast as was explained before. Such supremacy was perhaps based on a mixture of internal Lycian legitimacy and a pre-eminence confirmed by the Persian rulers for one reason or another. Eastern Lycia on the other hand seems to have lain beyond the Xanthian dynasts' sphere of influence, and probably did not become as a whole an actual political component of Lycia until sometime during the first half of the fourth century.

Henceforth it seems that the Persians established Xanthos as the regional capital and their dynasts as regional leaders. The close links which the Xanthian dynasts maintained with Persia down to the early fourth century are reflected in the satrap-like portraits appearing on

¹⁴¹ HANSEN, Morgens H., 2002, "Introduction: the concepts of city-state and city-state culture", in HANSEN, M. H., *A comparative study of six city-states cultures*, p.8-10.

¹⁴² Herodotus 3.90.

¹⁴³ KEEN, Anthony G., 1992, "The Dynastic Tombs of Xanthos: Who Was Buried Where?", *Anatolian studies* 42, p.53-63.

¹⁴⁴ DES COURTILS, J. and CAVALIER, L., 2001, "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times" in PARRISH, D. ed., *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 45, p.155.

many of the late fifth and early fourth century coin issues.¹⁴⁵ This would confirm that the power of the Xanthian dynasts was at least partly received from the hands of the Persians, and for much of this period the Lycian cities seem to have coexisted on relatively peaceful terms under the direction of the Persian-backed Xanthian dynasty. However, early in the fourth century signs of unrest were beginning to appear. In the west Arbinna, probably the cousin and successor to the last purely Xanthian dynast *Kherei*,¹⁴⁶ was involved in conflicts with a number of cities, including Xanthos, Pinara, and Telmessos. Although he was apparently successful in asserting his authority, at least temporarily, over these cities, he abandoned Xanthos as his formal base and established Telmessos further west as his seat of power.¹⁴⁷ His coinage issues seem to have been restricted to this city, the cities lying east of the Xanthos valley were completely out of his control. The most important dynast to succeed Arbinna in the west was *Artumpara*, whose coin minting was probably also restricted to Telmessos. Inscriptional evidence strongly suggests that *Artumpara*'s authority extended over most of western Lycia, including the cities of Tlos and Xanthos.¹⁴⁸ The likely Persian origin of *Artumpara* is indicated by an inscription from Tlos in which the dynast is designated as *arttuiiparam edese*- "Artumpara the Mede".¹⁴⁹ The Xanthian dynasty probably was partly of Persian ancestry. Therefore it seems that the successors of the Xanthian

¹⁴⁵ BABELON, Ernest, 1910, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 2ème partie, 2ème tome, Paris, p.287-8, number 388 and 389; CAHN, Herbert A., 1975, "Dynast oder Satrap?", *Gazette numismatique suisse* 25, p.84-91; ZAHLE, Jan, 1982, "Persian satraps and Lycian dynasts: the evidence of the diadems", *Actes du 9ème congrès international de numismatique, Berne, septembre 1979*, Louvain-Luxembourg, p.101-112; Uncertain: Hirsch Auction 205, lot 402; Kherei, in Pinara: SNG Copenhagen Suppl. 449; MØRKHOLM, Otto and ZAHLE, Jan, 1976, "The coinage of the Lycian Dynasts Kheriga, Kherêi and Erbbina, Numismatic and archaeological study", *Acta Archaeologica* 47, 43; VISMARA, Novella, 2001, "Monetazione arcaica della Lycia : prime rilevanze circa l'approvvigionamento metallic", *Revue des études anciennes* 103, 172 var.; SNG Copenhagen Suppl. 449; Kherei in Xanthos: SNG Copenhagen Suppl. 455, SNG von Aulock 4176.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, Mnemosyne Supplements, New York, p.50 : The exact relationship between Kheriga, Kherei and Arbinna, Kherei's successor and Kherei's son is not known, but it seems that Kherei was a relative. There may not have been a fight for power between Kherei and Arbinna after Kheriga's death. Cf. p.147: They all used Xanthos as their centre of power. Kheriga and Kherei minted in Phellos, in large quantity for the first, while we have only one occurrence for Kherei's coinage there; Arbinna did not mint there (MØRKHOLM, Otto and ZAHLE, Jan, 1976, "The Coinage of Kheriga, Kherei and Erbinna", *Acta Archaeologica* 47, p.47-48); cf. BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, "Les inscriptions du Letoon en l'honneur d'Arbinas et l'épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos" in *Fouilles de Xanthos. 9, La Région Nord du Létôon ; Les Sculptures ; Les Inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, Paris, p.167-174 on the genealogy suggested by the epigraphy .

¹⁴⁷ MØRKHOLM, Otto and ZAHLE, Jan, 1976, "The Coinage of Kheriga, Kherei and Erbinna", *Acta Archaeologica* 47, p.56: it seems as he only minted there.

¹⁴⁸ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1980, "The Other Pericles" , *Historia* 29, p.378 ; HOUWINK TEN CATE, Philo H. J., 1961, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera in the Hellenistic Period*, Leiden, p.10-1 to support this.

¹⁴⁹ BRYCE, Trevor R., « The Other Pericles » , *Historia* 29, p. 378: " a qualification that Babelon points out accords well with the (Persian) form of his name": BABELON, Ernest, 1893, *Les Perses achéménides: les satrapes et les dynasties tributaires de leur empire: Chypre et Phénicie*, Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, p.56.

dynasts in the west apparently remained loyal to their Persian suzerains. But in central and eastern Lycia the allegiance was shifting. A different type of leader appeared in the city of Limyra, a major city of coastal eastern Lycia, whose name bore the signs of this different political and cultural impetus. This man was called Perikles. His career probably began around 380 BC and in the following decade or so he took control of the whole of Lycia, from Phaselis in the east to Telmessos in the west, reuniting the entire region under the control of a single leader. This time, however, it was not a Persian-prone Xanthian or Telmessian dynast but a ruler from eastern Lycia. “In the process, he overthrew the last of the pro- Persian dynasts in the west, and very likely freed momentarily Lycia from its attachment to Persia.”¹⁵⁰

Before Perikles, Xanthos had been under the direct control of a seemingly partly Persian dynasty, which created a symbiosis of the Lycian and Persian worlds in Xanthos. This kind of local/Persian symbiosis is not a unique case in Anatolia. Even though each case is peculiar, the pattern of acculturation was politically motivated, a way for the Persian authorities of absorbing new regions within the empire. The Persians have shown a great facility in creating synthetic societies in the provinces they conquered. Xanthos and Lycia are distinctive cases in Asia Minor but they are within the blueprint the multinational empire the Persian empire was setting up. This is how the Persian authorities incorporated new cultures into an already very diverse empire. We should therefore observe other examples of Persian acculturation in regional Anatolian capitals and, most notably, Sardis, for which Elspeth Dussindorff has recently produced a brilliant and exhaustive monograph. The comparison will help us identify the effect the Persians had on Xanthos. We should, however, not forget that the Persians thought of Lycia as remote, restive, and of secondary importance, very much unlike Sardis, hence the semi-autonomous status Lycia received and the relative autonomy given to local Lycian dynasts. This should be the main reason for inadequacies of a full comparative study between Xanthos and Sardis. Nevertheless we ought to better understand what the common practices of the Persians in establishing their cultural and political rule were.

¹⁵⁰ BRYCE, Trevor R., « The Other Pericles » , *Historia* 29, p.379-81.

ii-Achaemenidisation of occupied society: the example of Sardis and its comparison with Xanthos

In order to help us understand if there was a pattern in how a regional capital was used by the Achaemenid central power to create a new (culturally and/or ethnically) mixed elite between locals and Persians, for the smooth functioning of a wide multinational empire, the examples of other regional capitals or satrapic seats are more than useful. In light of this, the example of Sardis seems to be a pertinent model to draw a parallel with Xanthos, both on the western edges of the empire, both the intermediaries of Persian rule in their respective regions. Nevertheless, there are limitations to this comparison as regards the size, as well as the political, differences. In the case of Sardis, we have the most important satrapal court in South-western Asia Minor and an important centre of 'Achaemenidization' for the entire satrapy of Lydia, . Meanwhile Xanthos was the unofficial small capital of a relatively undeveloped and only superficially controlled region of the empire, even though it was administratively placed in the Carian satrapy. Dusinberre has thoroughly studied the impact of Achaemenid rule over the local society of Sardis and its cultural material, coming to a number of conclusions which might be interesting for us in our Xanthian perspective. If the Persians had a pattern of how to deal with foreign elite and civilizations in western Anatolian cultural backgrounds, Sardis is probably the most detailed and abundant example to parallel it with. We will also digress occasionally about another Asia Minor's satrapal capital, Daskyleion. The Persian created a new dynamic between the imperial authority and a mixed Persian/native elite. The two communities helped, although in different ways, to convey the new imperial culture and way of life to newly ruled native communities.

First of all, it seems that the Persian authorities voluntarily used new imperial expressions and prose in imperial texts "nullifying the seeming remoteness of foreign conquerors",¹⁵¹ drawing on pre-existing traditions, and by doing so, recognizing the cultural multiplicity of the empire in an attempt to "legitimize the new regime". The Persians were therefore adaptable to the local *milieux*, showing a genuine flexibility of imperial ideology towards time, space and diverse cultures.¹⁵² For example, the artistic imagery within imperial context was manipulated to suit and reach local audiences, which were therefore incorporated into the empire. Architecture is another aspect of the Achaemenid influence and this especially in public and administrative buildings, palaces, temples, parks and other public buildings. The evolution of mortuary practices, incorporations into clothing, jewellery, *apparatus* and vessels

¹⁵¹ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.5.

¹⁵² SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen, 1990, "The Quest for an Elusive Empire" in KUHRT, Amélie and SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen (ed), *Achaemenid History IV: Centre and periphery, Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*, Leiden, p.263-274.

also displays the influence of the Achaemenid presence. These changes were happening as a consequence of the creation of a new multiethnic elite, made up of a mix between foreign and indigenous people, and then permeated all layers of the society to the point where even common houseware and day-to-day ceramics became the reflection of the Achaemenid presence.¹⁵³

This is relatively significant for Xanthos. This probably was the basis for the construction of a bi-national identity, for the Xanthian elite at first, and then for the whole society. This Persian presence at the top was the basis for a multi-composite society. “The blending of influences from east and west with local customs produced vibrant new styles in artefacts and modes of life throughout Anatolia.”¹⁵⁴ Unfortunately, some may have underestimated and overlooked the Achaemenid impact over western Anatolian archaeological evidence. Achaemenid apparent tolerance of local customs should not be interpreted as such, but rather be seen as an attempt to incorporate new communities into the imperial sphere and create a sense of belonging by fusing local traditions with imperial protocols into a new local imperial culture.¹⁵⁵ The administration may have continued to occupy the earlier governmental palace, showing in this way their readiness to work with the indigenous environment and traditions.¹⁵⁶ Moreover, in the end, in Achaemenid Sardis, for example, the Lydian wine-drinking cup is replaced by the Persian wine-cup, probably introduced by the elite and emulated by non-elites. Such ceremonial and banquet items might change to accommodate the tastes and habits of the conquerors. The Sardians probably saw these artefacts, as well as expensive silver, gold plates, and bronze, as items of sophistication.¹⁵⁷ The metallic vessels like the persistence of Persian names long into the Hellenistic/Roman period¹⁵⁸ tend to show that the Persian presence had a long-term impact in Sardis. Even during the pre-Achaemenid period, *Sparda* (the Lydian name of Sardis) was a tolerant city open to foreign influence, and acculturation so it seems logical that the Sardians embraced changes that may have been seen as positive. All these changes seem real, and not a temporary attempt to attract the favours of the new foreign rulers. But this had a longer term effect on the Sardian society, which incorporated the Persian influence deeply into the way of life as shown by the continued use of Achaemenid ceramic throughout the Hellenistic period.

¹⁵³ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.139.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.7.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p.5-9.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.76.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.191-2.

¹⁵⁸ SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, “Achaemenid Settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia” in H KUHRT, Amélie and SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen (ed), *Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt*, Leiden, p.83-143.

Ceramic styles in Sardis do not indicate the ethnicity of the owners but rather the assimilation of a new cultural impulse and the development of new local social structures. The new elite took on aspects of the local's as well as the foreign culture. The Sardian materials make clear the degree to which "the city's inhabitants threw themselves into the exciting new syncretical culture and fluid social structure of the Achaemenid Empire."¹⁵⁹ We observe there a 'top-to-bottom' introduction of imperial ideology, and a 'bottom-to top' ideology that may have stemmed from a local reaction against the top-down. This top-down approach of imperial ideology is clear in Sardis' materials; the adaptation of religion is probably the most significant in that sense. The reshuffling and rebuilding of the religious installations, the new organization of the religious system built on the local religious traditions are all highly significant in the fact that they ascertain the new relations of dominance. They also provides a new range of cults and images with new meaning reflecting the new political and cultural context. Some aspects of Achaemenid ideas were so fully incorporated by the Sardian society that they lost their foreign or imperial status and simply became part of the way of their way of life.¹⁶⁰

The new ethnically mixed elite, which was principally in charge of implementing this new social structure, formed the intermediary between imperial representatives and the local population, by including members of the local population.¹⁶¹ This incorporation of the local elite into the Achaemenid elite probably strengthened the political and ideological allegiance of the local population, the elite as well as the lower classes, to the imperial administration.¹⁶² Local elite in Sardis were retained in positions with status and adopted many of the trademarks of the empire-wide Achaemenid elite. The iconography of seals shared throughout the empire and the types of jewellery which are common to Persepolis, Sardis but also to Achaemenid Egypt are such marks of the imperial elite down in local levels.¹⁶³ The satrap was undoubtedly an ethnic Persian, probably directly related to the king, and the onomastic evidence suggests that there were Lydians as well as Persians amongst the Sardian elite. We cannot tell the ethnic background of the elite in general, just the linguistic origin of their names which is nonetheless usually a strong argument in determining the ethnicity of a character. The satrapic revolt in the fourth century suggests that the satraps considered themselves of prime importance and influence within the

¹⁵⁹ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.194.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p.201-2 and 217.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p.198.

¹⁶² BRIANT, Pierre, 1985, « Les Iraniens d'Asie Mineure après la chute de l'Empire achéménide. À propos de l'inscription d'Amyzon », *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 11, p.167-195.

¹⁶³ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.207.

hierarchy of the empire, especially with the incredible distances present in such an overextended empire.¹⁶⁴

The satraps and lower layers of Persian regional authority were ultimately responsible to the Great King, by whose favour they held their positions.¹⁶⁵ Seen from Persepolis, their main responsibility was levying the taxes and incomes which were at the end of the day the main concern of the central government. As we implied in the introduction, their efficiency depended on their ability to give consideration to the interests and needs of the local population and to control the different parts of their jurisdictions, relying for this on an administration composed of both Persian and local elites, as well as some Greeks in some instances. This was especially relevant for Xanthos and Lycia as a whole. The main concern of the Great King was undoubtedly to receive his due 400 talents of silver. The constitution of a mixed Persian/local elite was a prerequisite for the good governance and ultimately the receiving by Persepolis of the King's tax. This is something that has to be considered in the case of Lycia and the constitution of the dynasty with its new Xanthian elite. This was especially true in Xanthos more than any other city in Lycia. Not only was Xanthos the most important city of Lycia but it also had been devastated and decimated during the Persian invasion except for a few families from the indigenous elite. This created the vacuum for the instauration of a new structure of society. The main purpose of this Xanthian elite was to create a local elite which was to remain loyal to the empire and provide the Great King with his financial due.

The idea that mixed elites were a feature favoured by the empire is underlined in Daskyleion. The Achaemenid power in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia made regular use of Greeks from many different geographical backgrounds, across various functions. These were omnipresent and essential to the efficient functioning of the Persian regional administration, at least so say the Greek sources.¹⁶⁶ The Achaemenids kept the elite members of subject societies on their side. They worked with Daskyleion's elite and linked with Greek communities, especially the aristocracy. The local domination of such aristocrats over Phrygia was recognized and encouraged by the regional Persian administration. In Daskyleion evidence suggests a successful integration. We know of a so-called Manes, a member of the Phrygian elite who exercised some responsibility under the satrap. "Manes

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.; on the Achaemenid ways of transmitting information within the empire cf. KUHRT, Amélie, 2007, *The Persian Empire: A corpus of sources from the Achaemenid empire*, Volume 1, London, Chapter 15: Routes and communication.

¹⁶⁵ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.313 ; cf. WEISKOPF, Michael, 1982, *Achaemenid systems of governing in Anatolia*, Berkeley.

¹⁶⁶ MAFFRE, Frédéric, 2007, "Indigenous Aristocracies in Hellespontine Phrygia" in TUPLIN, Christopher J. (ed), *Greeks and Persians: reactions and perceptions*, Swansea, p.117.

belonged to the collaborationist ruling class.”¹⁶⁷ The association of Phrygian text with Perso-Anatolian iconography on the Manes stele invites the reader to consider him as a member of the highest class of his society while he is saying to the Achaemenids that he works for them and recognises the benefit of their presence. “Native and foreign cultural markers produce a homogeneous situation in which the different aristocracies became similar even if the power was not divided equitably between them.”¹⁶⁸ The elite of Daskyleion was very cosmopolitan, and it is no surprise that Greeks were well represented, even though indigenous aristocracies – Phrygian, Mysian, Paphlagonian, or Bithynian – held important roles. Most of the Greeks at the court were doctors, architects, stone-cutters and so forth, and as such “had no influence on royal decisions and their function was, above all, to be servants (expert ones nonetheless). Exactly the same applies to the various ethnic groups associated with regional Persian government.”¹⁶⁹

Equally, the court of Sardis was combining Lydian and Persian individuals as well as Lydian and Persian cultural aspects, without forgetting the insistent Greek cultural presence. In Xanthos we have seemingly the same kind of situation, to different degrees, with the amalgam between Lycian, Greek and Persian ingredients. This new Xanthian multiethnic elite probably oversaw the introduction of Persian elements into the Lycian way of life. There was also probably an injection of Persian family links into the Xanthian elite starting with the dynasts themselves, proclaimed descendants of Harpagus. If we can doubt that the impact of the Persians on Xanthian society was as strong as it was on Sardian society, it is nonetheless significant that the Xanthian dynasts placed themselves as tributary of Persepolis’ rule and probably saw themselves somewhat like satraps, therefore the Xanthian elite might well have been the vector of Persian culture in their city in the same way the Sardian and Daskyleian elites were. This was especially true at the times when the Xanthian dynasts were strong and prevalent over any of their Lycian counterparts, which is most of the time during our period, only in the beginning of the fourth century do we see Xanthos losing some of its clout. The Persian influence over Xanthos was favoured and adopted by a Xanthian elite who had more autonomy to rule themselves than their Anatolian counterparts. Persian control remained superficial until the beginning of the fourth century, probably limited to the allegiance to the empire of the ethnically mixed Xanthian dynasty and so loyal, as well as the presence in Lycia of a few administrators and a partly mixed nobility. The latter was probably given the ultimate supremacy over a large portion of the Lycian territory in the name of the Great King. The Dynasts were not satraps per se, but certainly

¹⁶⁷ Ibid., p.125.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

had the same pretensions in terms of Achaemenid legitimacy. Lycia was not Lydia. Persepolis did not need for their comfort a direct control of Lycia. The Achaemenids probably saw advantages of having a loose, indirect control of Lycia as ruling it in a more typical way, would have meant greater financial and human efforts. Indeed Lycia was a land of sharp reliefs and the general access the region from the outside was difficult as where movements within the region itself. The Lycians demonstrated their peculiar character to the Persian early on in the collective suicide of the Xanthians as a final act of resistance during invasion in the 540s. In the end for Lycia, it probably meant less exposure to Persian acculturation and therefore a stronger conservation of the Lycian native traditions and customs. The unusual form of the Lycian dynasty might derived from a pre-Persian form of rule. The study of cultural influences in Achaemenid Sardis shows a remarkably complex mixture of influences, changing the local social organization durably in that city, combining local aspects with foreign cultures, amongst which the Persian one.¹⁷⁰ “While some aspects of building and spatial organizations reflect Lydian traditions, others seem to take as impetus the cultures of Persia, Greece, and elsewhere.”¹⁷¹ The resultant mix is uniquely Sardian. “The result was a new culture that grew out of a number of past traditions but fully resembled none.”¹⁷²

The non-elite individuals seem to have been less subjected to this cultural porosity than the elite was. The common pattern of buildings for the usage of the individuals of the lower classes followed pre-Achaemenid traditions.¹⁷³ Indeed, in general, few public spaces or monuments, except for cult centres, have been found in Sardis dating back to the Achaemenid period.¹⁷⁴ We can see that in Xanthos and in Lycia in general the traces of Persian influence are most visible through sculptures and reliefs. In Xanthos, on the so-called building G, a frieze shows some servants with one hand over the back of the horse, in a very fashion of Persepolis, about which Paul Bernard says: “*le sculpteur lycien s’est appuyé, pour risquer ce geste si peu grec, sur un carton oriental*”.¹⁷⁵ It is not only Greek art that pours into Lycian representation but also the Persian, especially when the images are related with affirming authority and prestige. The influence of Achaemenid aulic art is also discernable on the Harpy tomb as shown by, for instance, the prince on the throne with lotus, servants and gifts-offerers. At Karaburun, there is a tomb that bears signs of deep Persian influences, dating to the same moment during which the Harpy tomb was certainly being influenced by a Persepolitan model, with marked resemblances with the Treasury audience

¹⁷⁰ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.44-46

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p.46.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid., p.75.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., p.72.

¹⁷⁵ BERNARD, Paul, 1965, « Le decor sculpté d'un édifice de Xanthos », *Syria* 42, p.285.

scenes of Darius/Xerxes. Not far from it, another tomb in Elmali, from of around 525 BC, bears significant Greek-influenced paintings as well as Assyrian items (cf. fig.6).

In Lycia from Xanthos to Karaburun, there are multiple clear signs of Persian cultural influences, reflected in the fact that local dynasts like to represent themselves as the Great Kings. The case of Xanthos is also unique as the local dynasty claims to be directly descended from Harpagus, Cyrus' lieutenant who conquered Caria, Kaunos, and the Xanthos' valley and so the dynasts of Xanthos were the main vectors for the Persian cultural influence. The Persian influence is especially marked from the reign of *Kuprilli* onward (485-440, cf. fig.7), whose coinage bears a very Persian motif, a walking lion-griffon.¹⁷⁶

The Greek cultural influence was not brought by the transformation of the local elites but by almost uniquely by trade, by the acceptance of trends and the exports of Greek handcrafts and artisans. The sculptures of Sardis were significantly influenced by Greek models.¹⁷⁷ This Hellenic influence remains throughout the entire Achaemenid period reflecting the relative geographical and artistic proximity of the Greek sculptural schools in Ionia, the Cyclades and Athens. These cultural affinities would have begun far before Cyrus' conquest. The sculptures of Sardis were the direct result of an exchange of ideas between artisans from different iconographic traditions, Persian included. The reliefs of Kybele's shrine in Sardis (540-530 BC) indicate that the artist was familiar with the decorations of the monumental architecture of Mesopotamia and Persia. The result is a translation of these influences but from a western Anatolian perspective. The sculptures and architecture of Achaemenid-period Sardis are evidence that Sardis was a place where western and eastern influences met and merged with local ideas to produce a fusion of ideas, themes and styles.¹⁷⁸

The social multiethnicity of the Sardian society was its main characteristic and the basis for the building of a new local culture. It was more marked along class lines than along ethnic lines as is shown by the mortuary evidence. The sense of belonging to this multiethnic society was demonstrated in the Achaemenid period by the burials of the mixed Sardian elites. "The syncretic blending of eastern, western and local styles reflects the complex social organization of the elite at Sardis in the Achaemenid period [...] elite society represented a fusion of cultural traditions, not differentiated on the basis of cultural origin but the serving to unite the elite as a more or less cohesive whole with different individuals probably expressing various aspects of themselves and their values to different degrees",¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L'histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.520-1.

¹⁷⁷ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.90 ss.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p.110-2.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., p.157.

In the end, the Achaemenid period is a time of shift of cultural impetus toward the East. Local artisans developed motifs and themes, alongside foreign artisans, in order to provide unifying modes of communication for the newly heteroclit Sardian elite. They expressed their status and the new culture they belong to using the new images of power.

Such are the seals, a traditional elitist artefact of the Persian empire, used as administrative tools as well as jewellery. They demonstrate the idea of 'Greco-Persian' materials and the false idea that formerly was of considering these were merely the merging of Greek and Persian imagery. They are not merely showing a 'Greco-Persian' carving but rather new motifs assimilated by this newly formed, fused elite of western Asia Minor. The new style is not a poor compromise between the Greek and Achaemenid glyptic, but rather a "newly composed and socially symbolic art of empire, demonstrating the network of artistic and socio-political connections that united the Persian, and Persianising, elite. It is a syncretic style, incorporating elements of iconography from the Persian tradition and from the Greek and Anatolian traditions to create a new stylistic mode of expression."¹⁸⁰ By adopting this new style, the members of this group of high-classes and influential individuals were claiming their adherence to the new Achaemenid hierarchy in western Anatolia. There is not, in this art a simple polarisation between what is Greek (or local) and what is Persian/ The artistic result is indeed something much more interesting than a simple sum of these two distinct artistic styles. It is a matter of "stylistic choice and of claiming adherence to an ascribed identity, a citation of power located in the western part of the empire."¹⁸¹

The new imperial artistic style was a new local art born from the adaptation the Persian art to local cultures and different contexts. It was a complex process of "interaction, reaction, reception, adaptation, and creation".¹⁸² And so acculturation is not only the adoption of a few external elements but rather the production of a new culture by an authentic exchange of themes and ideas. The Achaemenid culture was not only the privilege of the elite. Some of the Persian elements were adopted by the common people as is shown through the ceramic findings in Sardis. The changes extended throughout Sardian society. They seemingly penetrated deep into the local way of life, to the point that they survived long after the fall of the Achaemenid empire.¹⁸³ The new artistic style, found in new objects, such as pyramidal stamp seals and gold clothing appliqué, united the elite regardless of their ethnicity. Sardis is one example of a local answer to imperial ideology and of an imperial answer to local context. As a satrapal capital, it incorporated a large number of Persian aspects, yet the

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p.29.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p.171.

¹⁸² Ibid., p.195.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

impact on its artefacts is unique and different from those found in Persia.¹⁸⁴ Such uniqueness is also true for the Xanthian artefacts. The distinctive blending of indigenous, Persian and Greek characteristics marks the entry of Lycia into a new cultural era. A new culture that nonetheless remains entirely Lycian, and that is maybe the main thing about Persian centres of power in newly invaded provinces, whether they were made fully part of the empire or left as client-state like Lycia, the local culture remains local. Nevertheless in Xanthos the impact of Persian rule is less present. whether that is through the choice of the conqueror or the conquered we will have to determine. But first of all we need to understand what changed in Xanthos and Lycia by the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth century in the political organisation. Here a few dynasts marked the era by the success and failure of their regime and by the culturally significant artefacts left behind. It was required for us to understand how Persia had influence over its new dominions. The evidence discussed below will help us understand how, during the Achaemenid era, the culture evolved but remained fundamentally and uniquely Lycian. In the case of Sardis or Daskyleion the birth of a new elite was the prerequisite for the establishment of a new rule affirming the inclusion into the imperial structure, yet within an empire which leaves space for local culture and peculiarities. In the case of Xanthos the mixed dynasty seems to have been the main guarantor of loyalty towards the Persian conquerors. The impact on lower layers of the Xanthian and Lycian society seems so far to have been less important but there we lack materials to understand the way of life of the lower classes of society. The ceramics which are the most crucial evidence in this purpose have not yet yielded as much indication as they have in Sardis. Religion is certainly one aspect that pertains as much to the elite than to the common people and in this case it seems that the Persian had little impact on the sanctuary of the Letoon. More generally the Persian artistic influence on Xanthos does not seem to reach the same level of penetration in all strata of society as it does in Sardis. Only the reliefs and the inscriptions related directly to the dynasts seem to have bear a significant level of Persian cultural influence.

Further than being the vector for the assimilation of Persian artefacts and symbols of power, one of the very last dynasts of western Lycia, Arbinas, was also a great medium of Greek culture in Lycia. With him the artefacts of Xanthos reach a new level of sophistication in the mixing of indigenous, Greek and Persian elements.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p.199.

iii-Arbinas and the last dynasts of Xanthos:

At the turn of the fourth century, Lycia enters a rather eventful period, marked by the reign of a charismatic dynast, Arbinas, who left a strong mark in the evidence available to us. Even though, he seems to have been the last great dynast of Xanthos (or so he likes to picture himself as), the authority of the city seems to have gone only downhill from there (if not before). During this period the materials (ceramics, numismatics, epigraphy, iconography) change and transform. The Hellenic influence is more pregnant and the usage of the Greek language intensifies. As we stated before the Great King did not intervene in purely Lycian internal matters as far as those did not affect the subjection to Achaemenid rule and by that we mean vassality and the paying of taxes. Even through Greek texts, the dynast is shown as a good Persian aristocrat. In an epic poem “Arbinas est distinguée parmi tous en toute humaine science, tir à l’arc, valeur guerrière, expert aussi dans les arts équestres”, royal virtues similar to Darius’ own aptitudes as a good fighter and rider.¹⁸⁵ Symmachos of Pellana, the author of these lines, may have arrived in Kaunos with the Peloponnesian fleet around 412 before serving Kherei and then, later, his son Arbinas, counting the successes of the dynasts of Xanthos over their parents and neighbours, as well as the reconstitution of a Xanthian dominion over the Xanthos’ valley. He, in this poem, stated the mark of the Persian aristocratic moral and physical education on dynasts, present in Lycia since the beginning of the fifth century to legitimize their power. The Xanthian dynasts borrowed their literary and iconographic themes from both the Persians and the Greeks. These epic documents are complex manifestation of the acceptance of Persia’s and Greece’s cultures in Lycia.

The Inscribed Pillar and a passage of Thucydides¹⁸⁶ suggest that in case of foreign aggression Lycia was included into the imperial system. Therefore the Lycians were benefiting from the might of the Persian empire but without enduring any of the drawbacks of Achaemenid bureaucracy.¹⁸⁷ In this period the dynasts chose to leave behind documents, as memorials of their reigns. In these the tripartite cultural mix Lycia has become is revealed. In the Symmachos’ poem, a Xanthian dynast recounts his heroic deeds, like the Persian Great King he would like to emulate, but in the Greek language. The region was more than ever looking east and west at the same time, finding a peculiar way of existing in this cultural consensus. One of these inscriptions even suggests that Arbinas received

¹⁸⁵ HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, « Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos », *Revue d’Etudes Anciennes* 87, p.125-135.

¹⁸⁶ On the Inscribed Pillar : BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, « Les inscriptions du Letoon en l’honneur d’Arbinas et l’épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos » in *Fouilles de Xanthos. 9, La Région Nord du Letoon ; Les Sculptures ; Les Inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, Paris, p.174-177 ; Thucydides 2.69.

¹⁸⁷ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L’histoire de l’empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.626-7.

Greek tutoring through a pedotribe assigned by his father who himself probably lacked such a Greek education.¹⁸⁸ Jean Bousquet suggests in the same article that the poet author imitated some expressions of the Inscribed Pillar.

Until the rise of Perikles of Limyra, which we shall detail in the next chapter, and the participation of Lycia, under his rule, to the satrapal revolt, the deeply established separation between a persianised and loyal western Lycia and a rebellious central and eastern Lycia is evasive and poorly documented. The dynasts of the Xanthos valley behave as local dynasts who liked to show themselves as part of an educated imperial elite but also took significant elements from the presence of Greek culture on their doorstep. Even though, it is difficult to believe that the Xanthian elite as a whole was as much polyethnic and acculturated as the Sardian or Carian elites were. There is no evidence in Xanthos for any resistance to Achaemenid ideology beyond the first contacts.

So by the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BC, the dynasts show themselves as subjects and imitators of the Great King but are nevertheless cultivated Greek speakers, with Homeric references within their epic narrative inscriptions.¹⁸⁹ An Alexandrian tradition is especially interesting, mixing Hellenism and *Persianism* in a pure synthesis between Greek oracular tradition and a particular Iranian myth of sovereignty. In Plutarch's "Life of Alexander" (17.4), an anecdote talks about a spring near Xanthos at the bottom of which a copper plaque bore an inscription in "ancient characters" which announced the destruction of the Persian empire by Alexander. The spring can without much doubt be associated with the Letoon's. The legend is a pure result of such acculturation. Some have shown that there are Persian elements in this story,¹⁹⁰ but these are widely obscured by the apparent 'Hellenisation' already in place in Xanthos. These added to a touch of South-Western Anatolian cultural aspects produced the Lycian originality.¹⁹¹ Nevertheless despite these appearances and the progressive replacement of the Lycian script by a Greek one, the population was still culturally overwhelmingly indigenous Lycian as we will see later on.

¹⁸⁸ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1975, « Arbinas, fils de Gergis, dynaste de Xanthos », *Compte-rendus des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 119, p.142.

¹⁸⁹ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, « Les inscriptions du Letoon en l'honneur d'Arbinas et l'épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos » in *Fouilles de Xanthos. 9, La Région Nord du Létôn ; Les Sculptures ; Les Inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, Paris.

¹⁹⁰ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, "Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie", *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.10; LE ROY, Christian, 1980, "Alexandre à Xanthos", *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris, p.51-62; the Dumezil's reflexion about the iranien myth symbolism of sovereignty are not to be entirely dismissed but are rather not in any way denying that Alexander went in Xanthos ; the notion of « archaic script » is a common topos of the Greek litterature, with the nuance that this could mean oriental origin, this iranocentrism is denied by Bousquet.

¹⁹¹ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.12.

Herrenschmidt has shown that Symmachos' poem in honour of the dynast Arbinas was infiltrated by multiple Persian elements, even though it is written in Greek, to the point of asserting that "Xanthos fût la chambre d'écho de Persépolis". She states that it is a desire from Arbinas himself to confirm his subjection to the Great King, making analogies between his manifestations of power over Lycia and the power of the Great King over the empire.¹⁹² In this the evidence produced under the rule of Arbinas is non-negligible is an integral part of the more general discussion of the effects of Persian rule on the building of mix societies.

The place of Lycia in the discussions about various materials shaped by multiple influences is of significant importance. As Christopher Tuplin says, Lycia has produced some notable pieces of "Perso-Anatolian" or "Perso-Hellenic" material (e.g. the Payava Sarcophagus, the Karaburun tomb, the Harpy tomb or the frieze of Perikles' Limyra monument).¹⁹³ The distinctively Lycian culture was nonetheless dynamic and lively, and added traces of philhellenism from the dynasts and the elite despite the absence of "passive Hellenisation". Christopher Tuplin also adds "Perhaps Persian authority chose to favour Lycian identity because it empowered the Lycian elite...or perhaps the particular pattern of interaction between the Hellenic world and Lycia served to keep Greek influence at arm's length" which may only be another way of saying that historical depth (and geographical isolation?) gave Lycian culture an unusually strong character."¹⁹⁴ The Persians had very little interest in interfering with Lycian internal matters and the few Persian elements observable in iconography and epigraphy was not much more than locals "picking and choosing."¹⁹⁵ Eric Raimond adds in the same volume that Lycia provides notable examples of the Achaemenid impact in Anatolia but also the Hellenic aspects of the Harpy Tomb, Inscribed Pillar or Nereid monument for example gave Lycia a role in what quickly emerged as a by-product of Achaemenid studies, namely "a consciousness of continuity between the later Achaemenid period and the Hellenistic era."¹⁹⁶

The dynasts of Xanthos had occasional contacts with the Persian establishment. In the so-called Inscribed Pillar's Lycian inscriptions¹⁹⁷ (beginning in the fourth BC) from the

¹⁹² HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, « Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié a Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos », *Revue d'Etudes Anciennes* 87, p.125-133.

¹⁹³ TUPLIN, Christopher, 2007, "Introduction", in TUPLIN, Christopher ed., *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural interaction with(in) the Persian Empire*, Swansea, p.18.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ RAIMOND, Eric, 2007, "Hellenisation and Lycian cults during the Achaemenid period" in TUPLIN, Christopher ed., *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural interaction with(in) the Persian Empire*, Swansea, p.143-62.

¹⁹⁷ TL 44.

acropolis of Xanthos, the operations in Lycia and south-western Asia Minor during the Ionian war are described, and the participation of the local dynast (Gergis/Kheriga, son of Harpagus). The local dynast probably helped Tissaphernes, with *trieres* among other things, in his fight against the Persian felon Amorges in 412 who was then a refugee fleeing in Iasos. The presence of Tissaphernes in Lycia is furthermore attested by a coin with his name and the name of Xanthos (*Arnna* in Lycian) on it.¹⁹⁸ Although not everybody agrees that the portrait on the coin is Tissaphernes', if it is, this would entail a tighter Persian control of the region over the dynast himself than here previously argued here.

Nevertheless, the ambiguity of the Lycian documentation is indeed permanent, culturally and politically. This is ambiguous about where to situate Lycia in the midst of Persian imperial events. The available documentation witnesses an obvious and growing Greek cultural influence on the Xanthos elite and dynasty. The dynastic coinage follows Greek weight standards and progressively bears more and more Greek look-alike iconography. Also present is a Greek epigram exalting Gergis,¹⁹⁹ son of Harpagus. This is most significant when paralleled with the epic of Arbinas, composed by the Greek poet, Symmachos of Pellana,²⁰⁰ whom we cited before. The imperial interests are not served by such usage of Greek elements there. The attraction for Greek cultural features is chosen by the authors here. The thematic is that, under Persian domination, the internal life of Lycia surely continued as usual. Arbinas is exalting his and his father's glories, which has nothing to do with the Persian domination so evident in the Lycian Chronicle (a.k.a. Inscribed Pillar). The usage by the dynasts of a Greek migrant, and of the Greek language, to be their official chronicler is significant to say the least. We are here in a flagrant case of locals picking and choosing foreign influences.

Another issue defining the hold of Persian central power on Lycia was the presence of constant standing armies in the satrapies, necessary for maintaining and consolidating an empire in constant territorial motion. Diplomatic and military efforts were necessary to maintain the cohesion of an empire where distances were too great to ensure a sufficiently constant grasp of central power over local authorities, as well as to protect the empire

¹⁹⁸ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, Mnemosyne Supplements, New York, p.137; HURTER, Silvia, 1979, "Der Tissaphernes-Fund", in MORKHOLM, Otto and WAGGONER, Nancy, *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology. Essays in Honor of Margeret Thompson*, Wetteren, p.100.

¹⁹⁹ CHILDS, William A.P., 1979, "The Authorship of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos", *Anatolian Studies* 29, p.101; Gergis is probably the name of Kheriga transliterated in Greek, he is by the way the only dynast to have seemingly had control of Lycia as a whole, this control eroded under his successors who seem to have been able to mint no further than the Xanthos valley.

²⁰⁰ HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, « Une lecture iranienne du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos », *Revue d'Etudes Anciennes* 87, p.125-133.

against outside threats (the fact that in 394, Agesilaos claimed he had been driven out of Asia by the King's 30,000 archers argues for such efficiency of the network of imperial armies).²⁰¹ The military matters in Lycia were dealt with in a rather different manner. During the classical period, at least until the Perikles' 'events', the Xanthian dynasts held control of their military operations in their own hand. Whether a garrison was on Lycian soil is difficult to know. Although during Perikles' takeover, the Persians do not seem to have intervened on behalf of their vassals, neither did they do so during the slow and inexorable downfall of the dynasts during the fifth century. This allows us to think that the Persian population on Lycian soil was rather limited and so relied for their protection on the Lycian dynasts, hence recognising the Persian overlordship. After the satrapal revolt and the subsequent submission of Lycia to the Carian satraps, the latter probably had a direct military grip on their new possessions. Nevertheless the dynasts' accounts of their prowess seem to show that they were included into the Persian imperial structure. Moreover the Perikles events were probably looked at first as just another Lycian inner-conflict with no repercussions on the Persian grip on Lycia.²⁰²

In some ways, the Lycian dynast may have received the same status and consideration than the Ionian tyrants, at the very edge of the empire: "Hence the tyrannies we find in them in the late sixth century had either been there when the Persians came, or had arisen independently of Persian intervention, apart from a few cases that Graf treats as exceptional... But while it is undoubtedly right that the normal Persian practice was to accept the political and institutional status quo wherever they extended their power".²⁰³ In such an expanded, and for most of the time expanding, domain, this behaviour was a question of survival in terms of the integrity of the empire. Client kingdoms, or autonomous vassals, were a good way of extracting taxes and forces from regions on the fringe of the empire without alienating them with coercion. In the case of Lycia, the relative control of the region was a much better deal than stationing an entire range of administrative servants and armed forces to control a rebellious, geographically difficult, province. The Xanthian dynasts were possibly the result of a blend of Lycian and Persian nobilities, which guaranteed certain loyalty. The Persian authority must have seen the upheavals of the beginning of the fourth century in the political structure of Lycia from a distant eye, or maybe they had other pressing matters to attend to. Lycia was not in any case a priority for the resources of the

²⁰¹ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.200.

²⁰² BRYCE, Trevor R., "The Other Pericles", *Historia* 29.

²⁰³ AUSTIN, Michel M., 1990, "Greek Tyrants and the Persians, 546-479 B.C.", *Classical Quarterly* 40, p.290; he is citing GRAF, David F., 1985, "Greek tyrants and Achaemenid politics" in EADIE, John W. and OBER, Josiah (ed), *The craft of the ancient historian. Essays in honor of Chester G. Starr*, New York, p.79-123.

empire on its western fringe. The Xanthians dynasts, despite their constant reference to Persian heritage and way of ruling, were not protected by their Persian 'cousins'.

Nevertheless, coming back to the cultural diversity of Xanthos, mixture was a stamp of the Achaemenid Empire, as it was with the Roman Empire, both having, in their distinct period of existence, to integrate a very extensive and multinational dominion. Adaptability to local landscapes was a prerequisite of success for any empire and the Achaemenid Empire is no exception. The Greek impregnation of the Lycian world was of little concern for those responsible of monitoring Lycia in the name of the Great Kings. Our concern here is to understand if this cultural and social blend observable in Sardis is applicable to Xanthos. Firstly, Xanthos is of course not Sardis and Lycia is not Caria, politically, demographically or culturally. The Persian hold on Lycia was seemingly looser (at least until the end of the first half of the fourth century) and Xanthos was in no way comparable in size and importance to Sardis, radiating centre of Persian presence in the whole of Asia Minor. Sardis was the stronghold of Achaemenid power in Asia Minor, on the western edge of the empire. Xanthos was, to say it a pejorative way, a village compared to Sardis especially in the eye of the Persian administration. Sardian society was not marked with ethnic lines, Persian or local, but rather along classes-lines. The structure of the society in Lycia was also acculturated through mixed elite and foreign artisans, but the ever present Persian administration in Sardis probably had no equivalent in Xanthos. The last dynasts of Xanthos are the proof of such phenomenon. They were probably at least partly Persian racially. They relied on Greek and Persian artisans for their artistic work, probably worked with Persian envoys and developed the use of what became more and more like the international language of the western Anatolia, Greek, and the artefacts and the culture coming along with it.

Finally, to understand the transformations of the Xanthian elite in Achaemenid times, it is necessary and mandatory to understand the way the Achaemenid power was adapting and accommodating local societies to their objective of fostering a harmonious empire and a sense of transnational unity. Nevertheless the peculiar status of Xanthos and its dominion, as a *de facto* independent vassal state for most of the Achaemenid period, makes it difficult to parallel it fully with cases like Daskyleion or Sardis. Ignoring, however, the strategies of the Achaemenids to build and fortify their empire would be foolish to say the least. Moreover, Xanthos and western Lycia were clearly subdued to Persian rule; their different status was probably the only way for the Persians to insure the tranquillity of a 'troublesome' and proud nation. The Xanthian elite is structurally topped by a dynast whose ancestry is partly Persian but who are in the last decades of the era looking decidedly towards the Greek world.

The building of the Nereid monument, Arbinas' tomb, was made in a very Greek fashion²⁰⁴ despite its undoubtedly Lycian and Oriental details, especially in its iconography (city siege reliefs and court scenes). This draws a peculiar state of regarding Arbinas.²⁰⁵ The last western Lycian great dynast was the product of a 'melting-pot' society. He was raised in Persian elitist values, educated by a Greek tutor but in the direct lineage of his predecessors and ancestors, the Lycian dynasts. He is the product of his time, a child of different cultures who made Lycia evolve towards multiculturalism.

But the great changes were only to come. With the rise of Perikles of Limyra to power and the subsequent recapture of Lycia by the Persian authorities, Lycia becomes part of the Hekatomnids Carian satrapy and this until the Greek invasion led by Alexander the Great. During this new period, Lycia opened up to the neighbouring world and the Xanthians took a decisive turn towards assimilating more and more Greek elements into their culture. In the next chapter we will try to understand how and why this cultural shift happened and appraise its effect on the city of Xanthos and the Letoon.

²⁰⁴ COUPEL, Pierre and DEMARGNE, Pierre, 1969, *Fouilles de Xanthos III: Le monument des Néréides, l'architecture*, Paris; CHILDS, William A.P. and DEMARGNE, Pierre, 1989, *Fouilles de Xanthos VIII: Le monument des Néréides, le décor sculpté*, Paris.

²⁰⁵ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Laurence, 2001, "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times", in PARRISH, David ed., *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor, new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 45, p.155.

Chapter 3-The transition towards the Hellenistic period: Perikles of Limyra, the satrapal era and the Trilingual

In the beginning of the fourth century, Xanthos finds itself in the midst of political events which are shaping a new environment for the city. The city was, since the Persian invasion, the main seat of power in a region where official Persian rule was loose at best. By the 360s Lycia was part of a very philhellenic satrapy which only confirmed the growing Hellenic influence on the region. Xanthos' decline was real and the demise of the dynasty only accelerated the shift away from the Persian cultural model. The Letoon in the same period grew in importance in a pacified region. The enhancements made by Arbinnas were to host a shift of interest from the city to its sanctuary. The erection of the extraordinary trilingual on the site only confirms this new status.

i-Perikles of Limyra, the change of regime in Lycia and the growing Hellenic influence in the fourth century

I previously argued that by the very end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth century Xanthos was in a relative decline as the greatest seat of power in Lycia, relative because it nonetheless retained a non-negligible prestige. However, as I argue here, around 360 when the Hekatomnids took charge of administrating Lycia settled their representatives in the old dynastic capital. Nevertheless while it seems that the city was losing ground in terms of economic and political influence over their Lycian compatriots, the sanctuary of the Letoon was on the contrary gaining more prestige and importance in Lycia. This relative decline of the city, which previously had the upper hand over the affairs of Lycia and was the must-have for local dynasts to settle their claims over the whole of Lycia, seems to have precipitated some of the political events of the fourth century. The lack of supremacy of a Xanthian dynast probably created a power vacuum for an eastern Lycian ruler, namely Perikles of Limyra, to squeeze in and take over the Xanthos valley region within which the city of Xanthos was. This lack of Lycian leadership may have complicated the task of the Persians after the demise of Perikles and ultimately to not renew the dynastic experiment when control of the region was regained.²⁰⁶ The last of the dynasts of western Lycia,

²⁰⁶ Cf., by TEIXIDOR, Javier, 1978, "The Aramaic Text in the Stele from Xanthus", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37 (2), p.181-185: the Aramaic part of the trilingual stele gives the word *byrt* to designate Xanthos: the word seems to mean the fortress, the citadel, while it is described as a polis in the Greek version, showing that the Persians had this vision of a Xanthos stronghold of their

Arbinnas and Artumhpara, even seem to have ruled from Telmessos and not Xanthos, even though they had control over the latter.²⁰⁷

The events following the reigns of the very last Xanthian dynasts, Kherei, Arbinnas and Artumhpara, in the end of fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries find their basis in the profound political and economic division between the West, the Xanthos valley, and the East of Lycia. The division between western and eastern Lycia seems also to have had a commercial basis, since coins of different weight standards were issued in various cities of each region; a "light" standard was used in the west, a "heavy" standard in eastern and central Lycia.²⁰⁸ Differences in cultural impetus seem to have moreover been a basis for the dichotomy of the region.

The conquest of western Lycia by Perikles (*Perikle* in Lycian) certainly brings a period of closer ties with the Greek world as shown through the numismatic.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless it is difficult to assert that this change in political structure promoted the arrival of Greek settlers. The Greeks seems to have shown interest in Lycia before the peregrinations of Perikles (and vice versa). The Athenians apparently had the high hand over Lycia for a few years in the middle of the fifth century, but it rather seems that the Lycians never really accepted the Athenian rule.²¹⁰ As the so-called Inscribed Pillar's chronicle (beginning of fourth century) recalls, the Lycians were celebrating, decades later, their victory against Melesandros' Athenians (called *milassantra* in Lycian).²¹¹ Then we know that by the time of the Inscribed Pillar,²¹² the Persian-Lycian association was resumed (end of the fifth/ beginning of the fourth century). Kherei, the dynast dedicator of the inscription, was an ally if not a vassal of the Ionian satrap Tissaphernes²¹³ and was apparently in close touch with Darius II and

domination over Lycia ; cf. LOZACHMEUR, Hélène and LEMAIRE, André, 1987, "Birah/Birta' en araméen", *Syria* 64, p.261-266.

²⁰⁷ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1980, "The Other Pericles", *Historia* 29, p.378.

²⁰⁸ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.50-2 and p.113-5 ; BRYCE, Trevor R., 1980, "The Other Pericles", *Historia* 29, p.378; MORKHOLM, Otto, 1964, "The Classification of Lycian Coins before Alexander the Great", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 14, p.65-76; some dynasts have minted into both standards.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. ; SNG Von Aulock n.4249-4253.

²¹⁰ Diodorus 11.60.4 : Cimon secured the allegiance of Lycia 'by persuasion' (πείσας προσελάβετο) ; it appears only on two tribute lists of the League of Delos: 451/0 and 446/5 BC, therefore the grip of Athens on the region may have been only subjected to the presence of Athenian military means in the surroundings; MEIGGS, Russell, 1972, *The Athenian Empire*, Oxford, p.246-7.

²¹¹ TL 44, South face, 44-45; KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.125-135; CHILDS, William A.P., 1979, "The Authorship of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos", *Anatolian Studies* 29, p.97-102; LE ROY, Christian, 2004, "Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie", *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.8.

²¹² TL 44.

²¹³ TL 44c, I, 11-12,14,15.

Artaxerxes II.²¹⁴ This example of resistance to Greek military and political intervention should not hide the fact that the Lycians were living through a period of intense Hellenic cultural influence. Nevertheless many of what Le Roy calls the “*marqueurs de mémoires*”²¹⁵ link back to Persian influences or elements of the primordial civilizations of South-Western Anatolia.²¹⁶

It is during the fifth century that the Greek language starts expanding in Xanthos.²¹⁷ The first Greek characters known to us are on a graffito at the foot of an Attic cup dated from *circa*. 480, at a time when Attic ceramic imports are progressively replacing the previous Cycladic and Aegean sources of supply.²¹⁸ Around the transition between the fifth and the fourth centuries, official inscriptions in Greek appear, such as the grand stele of Xanthos,²¹⁹ then the poem for Arbinas on the statue base of Arbinas in the Letoon²²⁰ and later on the famous Trilingual Inscription.²²¹ The iconography seems to follow this gradual impregnation of Hellenism, perhaps due to a significant entrance of Attic ceramic goods, though the architecture seems to have been relatively less influenced.²²² In this phenomena I see a growing disparity between the west and east of Lycia. The west was much more attached to the Persian rule than the east. This eastern part of Lycia, federated around Perikles, who bears a Greek name, overthrew the last Xanthian/ Telmessian dynasts, around 380.²²³ He drove the whole of Lycia into the Satraps revolt in 367/6-359 BC. This resulted in the loss of the autonomy they previously had.²²⁴ Therefore, at least politically, Xanthos had been resistant to the growing political pressure from the Greeks over the South-East coast of Anatolia in the midst of the fifth and fourth centuries.

²¹⁴ CHILDS, William A.P., 1981, “Lycian relationship with Persians and Greeks in the fourth and fifth centuries re-examined”, *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.64-6 ; TL 44b, l.59-60.

²¹⁵ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.10.

²¹⁶ Cf. MELCHERT, Craig H., 2003, “The dialectal positions of Lydian and Lycian in Anatolia” in GIORGIERI, M., SALVINI, M., TREMOUILLE, M.-C., VANNICELLI, P. eds., *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione, Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 11-12 ottobre 1999 (Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, Monografie scientifiche, serie scienze umane e sociali)*, Roma, p.267-272 : the Anatolian South-west seems to have been an autonomous linguistical entity of its own.

²¹⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la découverte du monde Lycien et perspectives nouvelles offertes à l'étude des périodes pré-hellénistiques en Lycie », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.17.

²¹⁸ METZGER, Henri, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV: Les Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'Acropole lycienne*, p.366 sq. n.486.

²¹⁹ TL 44-45.

²²⁰ METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.24.

²²¹ Neufunde Lykischer Inschriften 312, Letoon, IV; METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.32 sq.

²²² METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la découverte du monde Lycien et perspectives nouvelles offertes à l'étude des périodes pré-hellénistiques en Lycie », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.18.

²²³ TL 104b.

²²⁴ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1990, “Hellenism in Lycia”, in DESCOEUDRES, Jean-Paul (ed), *Greek colonists and native populations, 1st congress of Classical Archaeology in honour of A.D.Trendall, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9 - 14 July 1985*, Canberra, p.531.

Despite all these signs of Hellenic influence over Lycia and Xanthos, the society of classical Xanthos and Lycia remained largely Lycian, and did so even after Perikles. The language of inscriptions offers a guide to the degree of impregnation by foreign cultures. However the use of inscriptions was limited to a political and religious elite, literally the few of those who could afford the cost of an inscribed burial.²²⁵ Even considering this limitation of evidence, it is significant that the great majority of the inscriptions continued to be written in the indigenous language until late in the fourth century. The usage of Greek remained spasmodic, and does not demonstrate the settlement of a significant number of Greeks during the Classical period. Indeed the onomastics of classical Lycia are not decisive in proving significant settlements of Medes or Greeks in the area.²²⁶ Although there are a number of Greek and Persian names, we cannot know for sure whether these are immigrants or natives adopting Greek names. However we could well imagine that a number of migrants may have been attracted to Xanthos in priority over the rest of Lycia and the city surely was the most international city in Lycia in general because financially and politically Xanthos was the place of attraction in Lycia.

We know that by the end of the fifth century, Xanthos was in a relative decline, starting to lose the supremacy it previously had on other Lycian cities. Nonetheless it is significant that the evidence are not necessarily linked to the political events that tore Lycia apart and affected Xanthos' supremacy. As Bryce states, there is "little apparent correlation between Lycia's political ties on the one hand, and its cultural and commercial orientation in the other",²²⁷ and Childs adds "under the Persians the iconography and style of tomb reliefs are strongly Greek while the great reliefs of the *heroa* of the acropolis of Xanthos, built surely after the passage of Cimon, are quite Persian".²²⁸ The adoption of Greek influences is a strong sign of a shift of cultural impetus in the beginning of the fourth century. The Xanthian elite, even its dynasts of Persian descent were starting to adopt Greek artistic standards as well as the Greek language. Once again the Lycians are picking and adopting cultural elements of their liking.

²²⁵ Ibid., p.536.

²²⁶ Ibid., p.536-540.

²²⁷ Ibid., p.538.

²²⁸ CHILDS, William A.P., 1981, *Lycian relationship with Persians and Greeks in the Fourth and Fifth centuries re-examined*, *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.61.

ii- The Trilingual Stele and its significance for Lycian society and status within the Persian empire:

In the satrapal period following the downfall of Perikles of Limyra, the Trilingual Inscription of the Letoon is probably the most symbolic evidence of a new cultural era. It bears tremendous political, cultural and religious significance. It gives us a good point of view of the state of Xanthian society and culture in the eve of the Macedonian invasion. Amongst our epigraphic corpus of the late dynastic period the Trilingual Inscription stands out. It is a long inscription in three languages, a religious decree authorizing the establishment of a new cult; the Lycian version (42 lines)²²⁹ is the basis for the Greek (35 lines)²³⁰ and the Aramaic (27 lines)²³¹ approximate translations (cf. fig. 8 and 9 for the appearance of the stele). The Aramaic version is a very compacted version of the text, and therefore was presumed very formal. The debate on its dating has now been settled and it is thought to date back to 337/6 BC during the Hekatomnid rule of Lycia.²³² It was erected in the Letoon, but introduced two new cults imported from Kaunos, on the border of Caria with Lycia, to Xanthos, therefore building a cultural link with a city of Caria, homeland of the latest rulers of Lycia. It was organising the establishment of two new Kaunian cults by the community of the Xanthians under the protection of the Carian satraps. The fact that the Lycian version of the text is the most developed and detailed indicates that it was indeed the decision and the responsibility of a mostly Lycian-speaking Xanthian community.

One of its many significant aspects is its political implication. I will come back later to the inherent religious meanings it necessarily bears being a religious decree. Nonetheless it carries a real statement to where Xanthian society, responsible for the Letoon, their civic sanctuary, and Lycia were at that point in time, right before Alexander's invasion. It was also a statement of what the Letoon had become as the centre of Xanthos' symbolic life. Of course the inscription talks about the instauration of new cults, but its large size and multilingualism shows that both Xanthos and the Letoon had a new political status. They also had a dynamic relationship to each other. The arrangement of the texts, Greek and Lycian on the two large faces of the stele and Aramaic on the thin side, is also very significant of the

²²⁹ The Lycian version of the Trilingual, its translation and some notes, all by Craig Melchert from 2000 are easily accessible on <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/lyciens/letoon.pdf>; or see LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.49 ss.; the entire Greek text is also available online in METZGER, Henri, 1974, "La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létôon de Xanthos : le texte grec", *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres* 118, p.82-93 on http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/crai_0065-0536_1974_num_118_1_12963.

²³⁰ SEG XXVII, 942 ; METZGER, Henri, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.29 ss.

²³¹ DUPONT-SOMMER, André, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.131 ss.

²³² BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Vol. I of The Lycians, Copenhagen, p.186-193.

cultural and political state of Lycia. The Lycian is the slightly more detailed version while the Aramaic is very short and simplified and arguably is there for reasons of imperial legitimacy, but the effort is limited.

It is an inscription presenting the diverse rulings and instructions for the establishment of two new Kaunian cults in the city of Xanthos. It is not a 'sacred law' *per se*, as is known elsewhere in the Letoon,²³³ but rather a ruling defining the economic and administrative means which are required, as well as the conditions for the establishment of new cults, particularly those that are new and foreign.²³⁴ The stele does not define the rituals of the sacrifices themselves but rather the obligations of the new priest, a Xanthian, and, it is to be noticed, of the Xanthians towards him. This seems to indicate that the control of the Letoon is still at this time in the hands of Xanthos and its civic body. Unfortunately in the text of the Trilingual Stele nowhere is it mentioned where about the new cultic installations were to be located, so in that matter it is difficult to use it to explain the links between the city, its cults and the Letoon. However a few significant things can be said. The Greek and Lycian versions are the civic versions while the Aramaic text remains lacunar and brief. The Hekatomnid satraps of Caria used Greek as their official language at that time. The Aramaic was probably there to ensure that the rulings stated in the three versions of the stele were guaranteed by the ultimate authority, the Achaemenid empire. This version also states that Lycia and the decisions made in Lycia are taken within the frame of the empire. It also shows that in this latter phase of the classical period, the previously autonomous Lycia is not a political entity anymore but is fully a part of the federate Persian Empire. The inclusion within a powerful satrapy surely represents the need to re-establish further this imperial authority in a previously disorganized and rebellious region. I should explore the growing Hellenic influence over Lycia here below, but in this particular inscription the presence of the Greek version rather seems to be the satrapic one, the Hekatomnid version of the text. Contrary to the Aramaic version, the Greek is almost as long as the Lycian is which in itself is the proof that the new rulers of Lycia, the Hekatomnids, are the effective new rulers, and also largely understood locally. Greek is in fact present in Lycian epigraphy at the time, but not to the extent seen on the Trilingual Stele which therefore comes rather as a surprise. The Greek version is there so the establishment of the new cults was recognized everywhere in the satrapy.²³⁵

²³³ SEG XXXVI, 1221.

²³⁴ To a Basileus Kaunios and Arkesimas, both cults based in Kaunos, a border city between Caria and Lycia.

²³⁵ Whether the Greek is a translation of the Lycian or vice-versa is not clear but Laroche tends to think that the Greek one is the original: LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.79.

The new religious bond between Xanthos, the Letoon and Kaunos furthered the inclusion of Lycia within the satrapy, promoting the bond between Xanthos, the symbolic heart of Lycia, and Caria, the Hekatomnids' homeland.²³⁶ Indeed at the time of Artaxerxes III, Lycia underwent a deep administrative restructuring attested by the Trilingual Inscription following the demise of the satrapic revolt and Perikles of Limyra. In 337, Lycia was in a common satrapy with Caria since the 360s and the reestablishment of the legitimate Persian rule after the satrapal revolt was put down. The satrap was then Pixodaros who is named in the inscription, who we know was the Carian satrap since 341-340. Reasons for this integration of Lycia into the Carian satrapy are not exposed anywhere, but the masters of Halicarnassus had their eyes on Lycia for a long time and the region of Kaunos was claimed by both the Carian satraps and the Lycian dynasts. Lycia under dynasts may have already been administratively within the Carian satrapy but had a peculiar status in which the satraps had little control over the region. When Mylias (on the border of Pisidia and Pamphylia) was attached to Lycia²³⁷, it surely was a decision of the Great King to arbitrate a dispute between Kelainai (capitale of Lycaonia) and Halicarnassus. The Letoon's Trilingual Inscription is interesting in that respect: it should be an internal matter to Xanthos, so what exactly the satrapic administration was doing in this issue is unclear. The political motives of the Xanthians seems like a more plausible reason for the adoption of the cults and the exaggerated presentation of the decision in the form of a Trilingual Stele. Local dignitaries might have tried to lure some privileges and attention from the Carian satraps and regain the status it had in the dynastic period more than create religious bonds with the city of Kaunos.

The authority of the Carian satrap in Lycia was asserted by a few details in the Greek and Lycian texts: the satrap names two *archontes*/officials in Lycia (*Hieron* and *Natrbbyemi*(Lycian)/*Apollodotos*(Greek)), and an *epimeletes* in Xanthos (*Erttemeli* (Lycian)/*Artemelis* (Greek)). From their names, there is a strong presumption that these characters were Lycian individuals. This suggests that the satraps trusts natives to be his direct representatives in Xanthos. Loyalty was therefore not an issue in Xanthos. The relationship between Persian authority and a civic community was no different from anything we see in the rest of the empire in the matter of local cults. To see this as a forced imposition of a foreign cult on the Xanthian community may be an exaggeration. We could maybe consider that the Xanthians adopted a Carian cult to attract the good will of the

²³⁶ BORCHHARDT, Jürgen, 1978, "Eine Doppelaxtstele aus Limyra: Zur Herrschaft der Karer in Lykien", in ŞAHİN Sencer, DORNER, Friedrich K., SCHWERTHEIM, Elmar, and WAGNER, Jörg (ed), *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien, Festschrift für Friedrich Karl Doerner*, p.183-191, argues for a forced 'Carianisation' of the Lycian pantheon and culture; cf. MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.100 for the probable cultural and religious link between Xanthos and Kaunos.

²³⁷ Arrian 1.24.5.

Carian satraps on themselves. The Xanthians put their decision under the services of the satraps for his protection over the new cults and their procedures. This organisation witnessed some profound transformation of the political situation of Lycia, although the presence of two different *archontes* might have been the reflection of the old east-west cultural division of Lycia. The inscription TL 45 followed this pattern of satrapic involvement. It was a Greco-Lycian bilingual inscription from Xanthos (perhaps originally a trilingual). Pixodaros gave significant privileges to Xanthos, Tlos, Pinara and Kadyanda, in the freedom of collecting a commercial tax (*dekate emporias*) in “anyway they’ll like”. This was usually a privilege given by the satrap or the king. A decree also of Pixodaros’ time of the Carian community of Plarasa exempts Dion of Cos of all taxes, except the ‘royal taxes’ (*basilica tele*). This situation with the royal taxes being mandatory was probably true anywhere else, the “*Darius’ tribute*”: only a decree from Alexander allowed the Ephesians to give to Artemis the tributes usually given to the Great King.²³⁸ The expenses attached to the administration of the Letoon were probably important for an already stretched Xanthian community and they had looked for fiscal or financial privileges for them and/or their sanctuary from the satrap.

This multiplication of multilingual inscriptions is a real feature of the Persian empire. By comparison the inscriptions of Achaemenid Sardis show a similar multilinguism, although Lydian probably was the most commonly used. Among them, four are bilinguals, of which two are Lydian/Greek and two are Lydian /Aramaic. Lydian probably lasted until the end of Alexander’s reign (323/2 BC). The inscriptions of Xanthos, also a regional capital of the Persian ruled Anatolia, of minor importance though, show the same patterns: the usage of Greek and (to a lesser extent) Aramaic are recurrent in the most official and/or prestigious texts, with a significant, even if small, number of bilingual and even trilingual inscriptions but Lycian remains the major language in use in the inscriptions and also like Lydian remained widely in use until the Macedonian conquest.

This profusion of direct translations can inform us about the status of Xanthos within the empire. There was a bivalence of the local powers in the imperial Near-East: in the 9th century (Tell Fekheriye) on an inscription of a statue base, a Syrian dynast presented himself as a king (*mlk* in Aramaic), while he was called governor (*saknu*) in the Assyrian text. This example has a parallel in the Trilingual Inscription of Persian times. Xanthos presented itself as a civic community (*polis*), while the imperial version (Aramaic) cites the city as a mere fortress (*byrt*). In the Greek version Pixodaros is presented as a governor (*epimeletes*),

²³⁸ Arrian 1.7.10; BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L’histoire de l’empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, Fayard, p.787-8; KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.726-9.

accompanied by two archontes, all named by the satrap as his representatives in Lycia. Perikles of Limyra taking the title of “King of the Lycians,” was not a sign of his rebellion against Artaxerxes II’s overlordship, but rather the sign of his intra-Lycian struggle against the dynasts of Xanthos.²³⁹ At the time of the Trilingual Stele, the era of the Kings of Lycia had indeed ended.

The introduction of the Trilingual Stele’s text presents the few representatives of the Persian imperial power in Lycia : Pixodaros, here designated under the title of “satrap of Lycia”, and his representatives in Lycia itself two archontes in Lycia and an *epimeletes* (“chargé d’affaires”) in Xanthos.²⁴⁰ It also settles the procedure for the new cults, with the nomination of a priest for life, Simias, who is granted a tax exemption²⁴¹ on his own possessions (*ateleion ton auton*) which would be passed on to Simias’ descendants.²⁴² Then comes the financial arrangements for the divinity itself, with land concessions, a field, its dependencies and the buildings to be built there, the field was designated by the names of those in charge of harvesting it (*Pigres* and *Kesindelís*).²⁴³ For functional expenses, three half-minai a year were to be given by the polis (by Xanthos), the Lycian version of the text clarifies this as being the priest salary. Furthermore any slaves freed in the future should pay a two drachmas tax to the divinities. The revenues of those resources (*ekphorion ek touton*) should be used to finance the sacrifices: a sheep each *noumenia*, and a steer each year. The Lycian version pinpoints that the responsibility for those sacrifices belongs to Simias and his successors. Xanthians and their *perioikoi* took an oath to respect those decisions inscribed on the stele.²⁴⁴ Indeed it offers the essential framework for the cult to exist and the maintenance of the priest, but first of all, it gives the new cult land (*hiera khora*: “consecrated land”).²⁴⁵

The aesthetic beauty of the stele contradicts the idea that the altar, which needed to be raised for the cult’s rituals, may have been put down on the land itself as a remote rural cult. The possibility it could have been in the Letoon is not to be excluded despite the low status of the new cults, but Briant²⁴⁶ rather thinks that, since the Xanthians themselves had a role in the

²³⁹ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L’histoire de l’empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.787-8; KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.46-52 and p.145-7.

²⁴⁰ BRIANT, Pierre, 1998, « Cités et satrapes dans l’empire achéménide : Xanthos et Pixodaros », *Compte-rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.309.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² ROBERT, Jeanne and Louis, 1974, “Bulletin Epigraphique”, *Revue des études grecques* 87, n.553, p.290: there is a parallel in Sinuri, where the transmission is not exclusively father to son but also with brothers .

²⁴³ BRIANT, Pierre, 1998, *Xanthos et Pixodaros*, *Compte-rendus de l’Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.312.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p.313.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p.314.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

funding of the cult, it was to be within the walls of Xanthos itself. Though Metzger, having participated in the diggings and being the first one to translate the inscriptions thinks the altar could be on the gods' lands.²⁴⁷ Nothing on the Letoon has been dug out yet, the place of erection of the stele does not mean anything, so many of Xanthos' inscriptions are erected in the Letoon. There is overall no evidence for its localization but it may have been close to either Xanthos or the Letoon, visible for all.

This stele is not proof that the establishment of the new cults were a satrapic decision. Nowhere else can we see the Achaemenid imperial authorities taking part directly in the religious matters of a local community, especially the foundation of a new sanctuary. Even if his mention in the inscription remains purely formal, the responsibility of the satrap is still engaged. The mention of the authorities is purely formal as is the presence of an Aramaic version of the inscription. All this probably establishes the superior authorities as the "garant des décisions prises localement et celle d'un arbitre d'un conflit qui mettrait en jeu ces mêmes dispositions".²⁴⁸ This theory, *a contrario* to Dupont-Sommer commentary of the text,²⁴⁹ shows that the real decision-makers remained the people of Xanthos.²⁵⁰ Xanthos was not anymore *de facto* independent and presence of an *epimelete* of the satrap is the confirmation of this status. The Xanthians enjoyed nonetheless some autonomy in this religious matter. It is the community of the Xanthians and its *perieques* who were asking for the imperial authorities to play a role. As Briant points out, we can see the same situation elsewhere in Asia Minor.²⁵¹

Another issue exposed by the inscription is the fact that the new cults were Kaunian and one could wonder what the bond between Kaunos and Xanthos was, and what the exact intention behind the establishment of those two new cults were. As we said before there was a connection between Caria and Lycia and especially the southern part of Caria and the Xanthos valley, which may have been the first site of settlement for the *Lukka* people. The memory of such arrival may have pushed the Xanthians to emphasize the cultural

²⁴⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.29 ss.

²⁴⁸ BRIANT, Pierre, 1998, *Xanthos et Pixodaros*, *Compte-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.334.

²⁴⁹ DUPONT-SOMMER, André, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.131 ss. : says that the decision for the establishment of the new cults is a satrapic one.

²⁵⁰ RUTERSWORDEN, Udo, 1995, « Die persische Reichsautorisation der Thora: fact or fiction? », *Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 1, p.56-7; BRIANT, Pierre, 1998, « Xanthos et Pixodaros », *Compte-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.325; BRIANT, Pierre, 1987, « Pouvoir central et polycentrisme culturel dans l'Empire achéménide (Quelques réflexions et suggestions) », in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen (ed), *Achaemenid History I: Sources, structures and synthesis, Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.1-31.

²⁵¹ BRIANT, Pierre, 1998, « Xanthos et Pixodaros », *Compte-rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.334

relationship with this city on the border with Lycia. Moreover the city of Kaunos was at a strategic point of entrance for the Xanthos valley, on the only practicable road between Caria and the Lycia. In this context the institution of the new cults may have had a political aim in bringing Lycia and Caria into a single cultural unit by creating links between cities of both regions. Unfortunately not every place in Lycia had such a prolific epigraphic output as Xanthos, and so it shall remain the only example of such a gesture for now, or until archaeology gives more material support about the links between Lycia and Caria under Persian rule. Whether the new cultural connection between Xanthos and Caria was politically motivated is unclear. Settling new Carian cults in Xanthos or in the Letoon could have been the decisions of the Hekatomnid satraps or of the Xanthian elite, but in the end the result seems to be the same: the stronger inclusion of Xanthos and Lycia within the empire and especially within the Carian political and cultural sphere. Incidentally, since Caria was the focus of Hellenic culture and language in western Anatolia, Lycia had closer ties with the Greek world than before. The Hekatomnids brought with them a whole new level of Hellenic influence.

The Trilingual Inscription also teaches us a little bit about the functioning of some Lycian cults. The Lycian vocabulary attached to the religious lexical field such as *kumezi* meaning *thuein* (make sacrifice), *kumaha* meaning *katieroten*, *kumeziye* meaning *bomos* (altar), *kumehi* means *iereion* (sacred victim) seem to show that the Lycian root *kume(z)-* was in connection with the commitment of realising the sacrifice in itself. The Lycians conceived the religious office merely as the performing of the rituals. We know the term *kumaza* is in the identification formula of two other Lycian tomb owners.²⁵² So the *kumaza* could be the one who performs the sacrifices in honour of a particular deity or cult. We know of other apparently religious functions in Lycia: the *akhataza* of the regional (goddess) Maliya,²⁵³ and the *uwehi* of the gods²⁵⁴. This variety might indicate a relatively high degree of specialisation in the religious roles undertaken by leading members of the community. It also shows that the new cults were financed by Xanthos and Xanthians themselves. This might imply that the cults were imported voluntarily by the Xanthians, probably in a gesture of goodwill, showing their allegiance or at least their support for further satrapal integration. If so, the Xanthians would have voluntarily wanted to draw a line with the dynastic era and the rule of Perikles by becoming a fully integrated member of the empire and of the Carian satrapy.

²⁵² TL 49, TL 111; BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Vol. I of *The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.131.

²⁵³ TL 149.

²⁵⁴ TL 22.

So at the end of this dynastic period, the Lycian society had endured profound transformations. Culturally, politically, artistically and linguistically it was a very different society compared to what it was almost two centuries earlier. Arbinas and other members of the late Xanthian dynasty had a lot more trouble affirming their grip on the whole region. Even the control of their own capital seems to have been not so straightforward in the early years of the fourth century. The growing power of alternative forces in Lycia provoked a new deal in the Lycian political affairs. The disparity between East and West had been a constant feature of the region and, as we mentioned earlier, in Greek texts Lycia seems at first to have meant only the Xanthos valley. The constant fighting between disparate forces in the Xanthos valley would have weakened the grip of this sub-region over their Lycian neighbours. Controlling Telmessos and/or Xanthos was not enough anymore to guarantee control over the whole of Lycia for the dynasts. This became all too obvious when a personality in the eastern town of Limyra started threatening the very establishment that Xanthos had represented in the region for the last two centuries. The rule of Perikles meant that the whole of Lycia, and so Xanthos, was driven into some political and military confrontations which resulted into an considerable loss of freedom. Subsequently the region was incorporated into the Carian satrapy and the Dynasts era ended. As the Trilingual Inscription shows the Xanthian local elite were trying hard, forty years after those events, to be culturally incorporated into the Greek-fashioned Hekatomnid rule.

iii-The Letoon as a regional focal point

It was during this period of regional upheavals that the Letoon went from being a local, at best regional, Lycian sanctuary, to become an imposing sanctuary, which radiated much further than the mere borders of Lycia, symbolic centre of the Lycian *koinon*. The Letoon went from being the religious sanctuary of its tutelary city, Xanthos, to become a major political factor. As the Trilingual Stele shows, to some extent it replaced the acropolis as the political centre of the city. Xanthos went from being the economic, religious and cultural capital of Lycia into being something rather more like the civic arm of the Letoon. This newfound hierarchy between the city and its sanctuary must also have changed how the cults within the sanctuary evolved. Any religious evolution would have affected the city further than it did before. The cultural weight of the Letoon on the city had also considerably increased.

The decline of Xanthos initiated at the end of the fifth century became even more apparent during the Hellenistic period. While the Letoon received more visitors and greater interest, not only from within Lycia but also from outside, Xanthos lost most of its political

importance and its prestige seemed to have survived more because of the nature of its famous sanctuary than because of the economic, military or cultural weight of the city itself. The *extra-muros* sanctuary of the Letoon was gaining importance and under the impetus of Arbinas was covered with religious buildings and monuments.²⁵⁵ During the dynastic times *intra-muros* temples were progressively abandoned and were not used anymore by the Hellenistic times.²⁵⁶ The major event of differentiation between the sanctuary and its tutelary city was the creation of the Lycian *koinon* which made the Letoon its federal sanctuary. We know only approximately the creation date (around 200 BC)²⁵⁷ of this *koinon*, although we know that Xanthos was not any longer at the centre of Lycia, which was not the most important city of western Lycia anymore, let alone Lycia as a whole. The *koinon* existed probably by the time of the Rhodian rule (after the treaty of Apamea in 188 BC), but it became completely effective after the end of this Rhodian period with the Roman approval, and would become quite successful for more than a century.²⁵⁸ The Letoon which had previously been a factor of unity between the cities of the Xanthos valley assumed thereafter the same role on a wide Lycian scale.

The findings of several inscriptions of decrees and treaties between cities of the League in the Letoon are in this point of view significant. Among these is a border settlement of the second century between Tlos and Termessos minor (not a city of the League) found in the sanctuary, the presence of which marks the political importance of the sanctuary in itself as the symbolic centre of the League and the site for the exposition of the League's decisions.²⁵⁹ As Jeanne and Louis Robert say "c'est la confédération qui règle, par arbitrage, les différents territoriaux entre les cités",²⁶⁰ and the Letoon was the collective site of the League, where a third copy of the text had been erected (the two first ones in Tlos and Termessos, the fourth being perhaps in Kaunos?). In Termessos, a decree mentioned that one copy of its text should be erected "in the temple of Apollo, Artemis and Leto".²⁶¹ This could

²⁵⁵ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-52.

²⁵⁶ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Jacques, 2001, "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times", in PARRISH, David ed., *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor : new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement* 45, p.170.

²⁵⁷ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108.

²⁵⁸ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.180 and p.194.

²⁵⁹ MA, John, 2000, « The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999) », *American Journal of Archaeology* 104; LE ROY, Christian, 1996, « Une Convention entre cités de Lycie du nord », *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, p.961-980

²⁶⁰ ROBERT, Jeanne and Louis, 1950, « Bulletin Epigraphique », *Revue des études grecques* 63, n.183, p.196.

²⁶¹ SEG XXVIII, 1224.43-44.

well be the Letoon of Xanthos, while it should not be excluded that a temple of the Triad was erected in the city of Telmessos itself. The divinities were the *patrooi theoi* of Lycia in general and the Mother-Goddess alone was worshipped all over Lycia from antique times in various settlements (I will examine the links between the indigenous divinities of western Lycia here later in chapter V).²⁶²

On the same aspect, a short summary of a decree was found in Xanthos which attests that Antiochos III consecrated the entire city to the Letoan triad by decree.²⁶³ We know the Seleucids ruled Lycia from 197 BC until the treaty of Apamea (188 BC).²⁶⁴ There was a direct divine blood relationship between the Xanthians and Antiochos, Apollo being the tutelary divinity of the Seleucids.²⁶⁵ Such a document shows that Antiochos gave particular attention to Xanthos, and especially to Xanthos tutelary city of the Letoon. The text was exposed in particularly large letters at the main entrance of the city where everybody could read it, proving the importance that this consecration had to the Xanthians. After the downfall of the Seleucid grip on the region, the inscription was abraded, but not to the point of becoming unreadable, and so the privilege (probably a fiscal one) were therefore abolished, most likely by the Rhodians.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless we cannot ignore that by consecrating the city, Antiochos gave to the city more than fiscal privileges but also a recognition of its symbolic importance through its direct control of the Letoon sanctuary.

This consecration was equivalent to the gift of *asylia* which, as underlined by Rigsby,²⁶⁷ was in fact the protection of the integrity of the city and its dependencies, these becoming the gods' property and so any aggressive attempt on the city's property became an impiety, an impious act against the divinities themselves. The city may also have been the recipient of some fiscal privileges. Antiochos III did the same thing in Teos and there we know that the consecration was accompanied by exemption of the royal tax and all other taxes which were imposed by the Attalid regime, and this is not the only example during the Hellenistic period.²⁶⁸

²⁶² MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108; TAM II 496.12.

²⁶³ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108; about 197 B.C.

²⁶⁴ MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.82-84.

²⁶⁵ TAM II, 266; MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.323-324, n.22.

²⁶⁶ BRESSON, Alain, 1998, « Rhodes, Cnide et les Lyciens au début du IIe siècle av. J.-C. », *Revue des études Anciennes* 100, p. 65-77.

²⁶⁷ RIGSBY, Kent J., 1996, *Asylia : territorial inviolability in the Hellenistic world*, Berkeley, p.33-40.

²⁶⁸ MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.313 ss.

The consecration of the city is made to the triad, which seems to say that the Xanthians may have directly asked for the favour and dictated the clauses or at least were prone to accept this status of a 'sanctuary-city'. We do not know if the consecration was also excluding the presence of a garrison though (in Teos for example the king was there with his troops).²⁶⁹ If so, the Xanthians would have had control of their acropolis. The city seems to have acquired the status of *eleutheria kai autonomia*,²⁷⁰ so it could escape the status of subject city and be in a direct relationship with the king. The issue is that our inscription was voluntarily written as a laconic summary of the decision and some clauses about the extent of the *asylia* (by the situation of the inscription the city was surely included but what about the rural areas and around the sanctuary in itself, quid?) or the exemption of the royal *phoros* can not be known for sure. However one thing is for sure, the Xanthians must have shown themselves thankful for the gift, for the official recognition of their sanctuary and its sacredness. By this the king was looking for the cooperation of all the Lycians by giving the federal sanctuary of the *koinon* and its controlling city the recognition it deserved. The fidelity of the Lycians during the war with Rome shows that he was successful into bringing the Lycians to sympathise with his cause.²⁷¹ It might also have been a privileged financial treatment for the Xanthians who had to endure a great deal of expenses related to a sanctuary which was a benefit of the entire region. It is nonetheless the very proof that Xanthos became more and more affiliated in this Hellenistic period to its sanctuary and not the other way around as it was in the dynastic period. Xanthos kept some of its prestige because of the success of the Letoon. The city was largely threatened by the decline of its economic and political importance in a very reshuffled Lycian game of power and its future was to be as a sacred city, a status that the Letoon, and the religious prestige it now had acquired, guaranteed. We know from a decree of *isopolitia* between Myra and Xanthos (circa 167/6-160) that the priest of Apollo was at that time the first eponymous of the city. The status of Apollo as the main divinity of the city itself is therefore attested by the coinage.²⁷²

This decree of *isopolitia* between two cities of the same *koinon*, namely Myra and Xanthos, and nowhere is the *koinon* mentioned in the decree. Therefore, we can think that the usual behaviour of the cities of the *Koinon* towards each other resembles the one of independent

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108.

²⁷¹ BRESSON, Alain, 1999, "Rhodes and Lycia in Hellenistic Times", in GABRIELSEN, Vincent, BILDE, Per, ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, Troels, HANNESTAD, Lise, and ZAHLE, Jan (ed), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society*, Aarhus, p.105 ss.; BRESSON, Alain, 2001, "Dédicace des Xanthiens à Antiochos III", in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au IIe siècle a.C.*, de Boccard, Paris, p.238 ss.

²⁷² SEG XLIV, 1218; MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108.

states. Indeed, despite the presence of the federal sanctuary on its territory, Xanthos was an independent city, dealing with the matters of its sanctuary on its own, despite the regional influence this latter had. Apart from times of distress, when the security and the fate of the Lycians as a whole were in jeopardy, the cities of the *koinon* were behaving as individual cities, having their own foreign policy and own special interests.²⁷³ But we cannot ignore that Xanthos must have had a peculiar status, and that the Letoon was recognized as the federal focal point for the diversely interested cities of Lycia.

Before a period of prosperity for Lycia in the second half of the second century precipitated by the events aforementioned, e.g. mainly the end of the Rhodian rule, the city might have been greatly affected by the era of the Rhodian domination over Lycia after the battle of Magnesia. The recovery of their independence seems to have been a reason for rejoicing and making federal investments by the newly independent *koinon*, a political entity which existence was sanctioned by the Romans. At this occasion it began and financed the renovations the three temples of the Letoon.²⁷⁴ Such a gigantic task was certainly not within Xanthos' financial possibilities.²⁷⁵ In classical times, the Trilingual shows that the new cults were financed by Xanthos and Xanthians themselves. Therefore the *koinon* demonstrates a great will in strengthening and giving itself and its federal sanctuary Greco-Roman worldwide exposure. In this the Letoon is the face the *koinon* wants to show to the world.

Later on, we know of a donation by Artapates (end second/ beginning first century) from Pinara who gave fields near Pinara and Tlos to the sanctuary,²⁷⁶ and also of Opraomas of Rhodiapolis.²⁷⁷ Even Athens used the Delian league treasure for the acropolis of Athens, as it was too expensive even for big, prosperous cities to finance a major sanctuary. Xanthos had already lost a great deal of its political, strategic and economic importance, mostly to Patara which situation on the coast made it a more sensed relay of trade. The better location of the coast in the Aegean and Mediterranean trades meant that Patara took over Xanthos as the economic centre of the Xanthos valley. Xanthos, in a more globalised world, could not

²⁷³ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, « Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 107, p.347.

²⁷⁴ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C. », in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond, *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.213-224; LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.13 ; the temples were almost rebuilt: the new temples were literally enclosing and incorporating the old ones within their structures.

²⁷⁵ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « La région des portiques du Letôôn de Xanthos », *Compte rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, p.622 ss.

²⁷⁶ ROBERT, Louis, 1966, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure méridionale : Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Paris, p.30 ss.

²⁷⁷ BALLAND, André, 1981 in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VII : Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Letôôn*, p. 173-224.

have been asked to support such a financial burden alone.²⁷⁸ All this renovation was to be paralleled with the synchronous recovered autonomy of the Lycian *koinon*. Therefore the Letoon went from a local sanctuary in the Archaic times to a micro-regional sanctuary of the cities of the Xanthos valley by the time of Arbinas to finally a pan-Lycian sanctuary in the Hellenistic times with political importance to a wide regional political entity.²⁷⁹

In Classical times, the Trilingual shows that the new cults were financed by the Xanthians themselves, though those were probably not in the Letoon itself, but the inscription was nonetheless set up in the Letoon. We can rightfully assume that the Xanthians were alone assuming the welfare of the cults on the Letoon at this time. It would seem that, by the lack of renovation on a large scale, it was Xanthos alone. But in the Hellenistic times, Artapates or even Opraomas of Rhodiapolis were evergetes from outside Xanthos. The important renovations of the second century were not only a Xanthian gesture, but a real gesture of religious nationalism. The growing reputation of the Letoon in the Hellenistic times could not stop the seemingly unavoidable decline of Xanthos, provoked somewhat by the emergence of Patara as the main economic and trade centre of the Xanthos river valley, as well as the successive political changes in Lycia. Their Lycian compatriots looked towards Xanthos as a religious centre and no more as the seat of political and economic power as it once was.

By Roman times, the second eponymous of Xanthos becomes the priest of Roma, marking the attachment of the city for its 'liberator' (from the Rhodian rule) and the city starts celebrating some Rhomaia in the Letoon with a Xanthian *agonothete*.²⁸⁰ But it was a Xanthian cult, established within the city walls, not in the Letoon. This proves, if it was still needed, that the Letoon remained in the hands of the city of Xanthos, meanwhile being the convergent point of Lycian national identity. We know also of the existence of a priest '*pro poleos*' (probably the priest of Leto²⁸¹ but maybe Apollo which gained importance as the tutelary divinity of Xanthos under the Seleucids) which was kept within the same family of Xanthian notables.²⁸² Two donors' lists in the Letoon from the middle of the second century show that despite the intense Hellenic influence which the region was under, some names

²⁷⁸ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « Xanthos et le Létôon au II^{ème} siècle avant JC. », in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond, *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.222.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, « Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue des études Grecques* 107, p.324-325; about the cult of the goddess Roma in Xanthos and Lycia cf. BALLAND, André, 1980-1981, « De l'époque hellénistique à l'époque impériale, Le culte de la déesse Rome en Lycie », *Cahiers du Centre Georges-Radet* 1, p.30-43.

²⁸¹ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1988, « La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 101, p.24.

²⁸² BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, « Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 107, p.325.

are still typically Luwian, such as *Ermenenis* or *Ermatouggas*. In this apparently well-hellenised society, the Lycian substrate survived.²⁸³ They also show that wealth and prosperity came back fast after the end of the Rhodian domination. The second list, slightly posterior to the first one, is far more crowded, with 73 donors compared with only 27 previously, and it was this time used for the luxury of gilding the cult statues. There are the clear signs that the Xanthians and Lycians were better off under Roman benevolence.²⁸⁴

Another proof of the Letoon as fully being a part of the Xanthian *polis* entity during the Hellenistic period is a decree of the Xanthian *neoi* in honour of their gymnasiarch, Lyson, found in the sanctuary, dating back from circa 197-193 BC.²⁸⁵ In this, the *neoi* showed gratitude for their magistrates evergetes and honoured him with the construction of an altar in the gymnasium. What is interesting is that the honour of erecting the *stela* in the Letoon could not have been decided without the authorization of the Xanthian assembly. Its *neoi*, as citizens, were a part of the decision-making. As Xanthian citizens, the honour of administering the Letoon might have represented some form of supreme distinction, which therefore might have led the magistrates to demonstrate more of their evergetism. Later on, in the first century BC, a decree of the same kind was found on the Letoon though this time from the *neoi* of Kandyba, honouring a Tlosian evergete, probably set up in the occasion of the federal Rhomaia.²⁸⁶ What we have here is an interesting parallel between the Letoon, the civic sanctuary of Xanthos, and the Letoon, the federal sanctuary of the Lycian League and major sanctuary of Lycia. Even though, by the first century, the city of Xanthos was little more than the shadow of its ancestral glory, it was still the tutelary city of the sanctuary which marked the symbolic centre of the federation.

The Letoon has clearly become the centre of Hellenistic and Roman Xanthian civic life after becoming the main, and later the only, cult centre of the city during the Classical period. Another example of that evolution is an inscription of the second century BC found in the Letoon in which the Angeirans in Pisidia were honouring the Xanthians for sending a judge to them. The interesting point for us here is that the Angeirans were affording the finances to erect a stele “in Xanthos in the most visible place” (Il.36-37),²⁸⁷ which in this instance

²⁸³ Ibid., p.356.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., p.344-45 : There is a real distortion between the little 500 drachms that the Kytenians get from the Xanthians and the *τιμὴ* of 400 drachms that in 197/6 they give to Themistocles d'Illion (ROBERT, Jeanne et Louis, 1983, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I*, Paris, p.154-163).

²⁸⁵ SEG XLVI, 1721; GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1996, « Bienfaiteurs du gymnase au Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 109, p.1-34.

²⁸⁶ GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1996, « Bienfaiteurs du gymnase au Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 109, p.1-34.

²⁸⁷ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1993, « Un juge de Xanthos à Angeira de Pisidie », *Revue des études grecques* 106, p.16.

happened to be the Letoon and not the intra-muros acropolis. The Xanthians obviously considered the Letoon as the most visible place in their city, despite being separated from the city *per se*. The erection of the stele on the Letoon would have needed the agreement from the assembly of the Xanthians²⁸⁸ and so we could consider that it was not the Angeirans, who far away from the city would have seen the Letoon as such but the Xanthians themselves. So the prestige of the Xanthians was well alive, and they recognized that the Letoon was their primary attribute to retained such prestige.

In the Letoon, the civic, as well as religious, centre of the city of Xanthos, the construction, after the liberation from the Rhodian rule, of the buildings necessary for the *thymelic* and *gymnic* contests made sense (theatre, stadium and hippodrome).²⁸⁹ The Letoon, despite being some four kilometres away from the city, had literally taken over the acropolis as the main focal point of the Xanthos' collective civic life.

It is significant that for the entire Hellenistic period we found very few remains of new buildings within the walls of Xanthos except for a limited residential area. This was probably due to massive Roman developments like in the agora, although it is quite surprising that we found no evidence, fragment, substructure of any kind whatsoever, even re-used, of the Hellenistic date.²⁹⁰ More surprising is that while Xanthos knew very little enhancements, the Letoon was fantastically rebuilt in the middle of the second century. So the Lycian city that was Xanthos in the fourth century continued to live under this somewhat 'primitive' aspect until Roman times. Henceforth it became noticeable that the practice, purely indigenously Lycian, of being buried within the city continued to some extent through the third century.²⁹¹ The *intra-muros* temples of the classical period seem not to have been used in the Hellenistic period, replaced entirely by the Letoon. The only exception to that was the 'foundation' of an altar and a temple to Artemis in Xanthos by Antiochos III,²⁹² showing a revival of the cults of Artemis as practiced on the acropolis in the classical times. This foundation was perhaps to fortify the presence of Artemis as the Greek deity in the local minds (which may still be perceived as a late or artificial addition to the local pantheon), and in association with the, emphasised under Antiochos, cult of Apollo. But as

²⁸⁸ GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1996, « Bienfaiteurs du gymnase au Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 109, p.26.

²⁸⁹ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-351.

²⁹⁰ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Jacques, 2001, "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times", in PARRISH, David (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor : new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement* 45, p.158-9.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.170.

²⁹² TAM II 1, 263.

we will see later in chapter V, Artemis may in one form or another (maybe as the main divinity of an early triad) have existed earlier on the same area of the acropolis.

To fully comprehend the cultural transformations endured and accepted by the Xanthians, linguistically, culturally and religiously, it is important to fully understand how the population evolved in terms of migrations and how new influx of foreign populations may have changed the open-mindedness of natives for foreign imports.

iv-Persian and Greek migrations and the onomastics in the Classical and Hellenistic periods:

By the end of the Classical period, blocked in front of the Persian gates, Alexander calls amongst his recent prisoners a Lycian, a shepherd, who is at least bilingual, Aramaic and Greek: his father is from Lycia where he was captured by the Persians and his mother was Persian.²⁹³ This character is the witness that some exchange of population and some intermarriages had taken place in Lycia or with Lycians settled abroad. This nevertheless does not mean that there was a vast transfer of population between Persia and Lycia, but at least, state-driven or not, the mixture was happening.²⁹⁴ Moreover the city was seemingly repopulated after the invasion, if and how much there were foreign elements in this repopulation remains a question of appreciation of the evidence.

We need therefore to ask the specific question of foreign colonisation and migrations in Lycia. The fifth and first half of the fourth centuries were periods of relative autonomy for Lycia and as far as we know, the dynasts in Xanthos showed obedience and rendered tribute to their Persian rulers, who returned such compliance with a relative autonomy and self-management.²⁹⁵ There was no reason for the imperial authorities to favour such settlements in a region where such things may have been vehemently received. It seems that the Lycian dynasts may have themselves been strongly acculturated by Persian manners, perhaps by being educated in a Persian satrapal or royal court, with Persian family ties, which would have been a smarter way for the Persian authority to build a loyal regime.²⁹⁶ Several Lycian

²⁹³ Quintus-Curtius, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, V, 4.3-4, 10-12; Diodorus XVII, 68.4-6; Plutarch *Life of Alexander* 37.1.

²⁹⁴ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L'histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.755.

²⁹⁵ Herodotus III.90 : the dynast was responsible for taking care of and collect the Lycian share of the 400 talents tribute that the first satrapy owed to the Persian dynast.

²⁹⁶ HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, "Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié a Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos", *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 87, p.125-136; SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, "Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia", in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.97.

dynasts had Persian names,²⁹⁷ as well as some Lycian individuals. However the names we know about should be seen as elite, as only rich people could afford to erect inscribed burials, our main source for the names of Lycians. Whether a few of those people had blood-links with Persian families, or their names were marks of ‘persianisation’ within the indigenous population, or even perhaps this was the mark of a political gesture towards the Persian overlords, is difficult to know.²⁹⁸ We might compare this with the fact that Perikles of Limyra adopted a Greek name for similar political and cultural reasons in an eastern Lycia that seemed to have been more receptive to Greek acculturation.²⁹⁹ In short it might have been no more than a fashion trend. Although we can think that intermarriages between the Lycian nobility (not necessarily dynastic) in Lycia and Persian noble families settled in Southern Asia Minor were a common thing.³⁰⁰ The evidence for an acculturation in the form of ‘international’ marriages, which explains why so many Persian names (which we should detail) have survived in Hellenistic and Imperial times, is to be favoured by opposition with any form of proper settlements. It could be that a small influx of Persian administrators in the aftermath of the satrapal revolt³⁰¹ or even by new settlers following the upheavals in the Near-Eastern in the Hellenistic period.³⁰² Nonetheless in no case do we have evidence of proper Persian nobility immigration occurred in other places in Lower Asia Minor.³⁰³ Yet in the first moments of Persian rule in Lycia, the dynasts of Xanthos clearly stated their ancestry as partly Persian. If a dynasty existed in Xanthos before the Persian invasion, it is no doubt that after 540, the dynasty in place was a creation of the Persian rulers.³⁰⁴ It is therefore believable that having some Persian ancestry was a reason for the (new?) dynasts to argue their legitimacy in classical Xanthos. At least the dynasts were not afraid that this might provoke a vehement reaction from their people. If such a voluntary ‘Persianization’ of the Lycian population was a reality, Xanthos must have been the centre of it. Indeed Xanthos

²⁹⁷ TL 44 a 1-2 and 30, TL 44 c 24 : Harpagus in the genealogy of the Xanthian dynasts recorded in Xanthos’ Inscribed Pillar.

²⁹⁸ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Vol. I of The Lycians, Copenhagen, p.161-3.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., p.167.

³⁰⁰ SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, “Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia”, in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.98-105.

³⁰¹ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, Vol. I of The Lycians, Copenhagen, p.168.

³⁰² Ibid., p.171.

³⁰³ SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, “Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia”, in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.105; on Sardis cf. DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge.

³⁰⁴ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.80.

was the stronghold for Persian influence in Lycia from at least from 480/70 BC, as is confirmed by the coinage of the six generations of local dynasts, and was certainly considered as such by the Persian overlords.³⁰⁵ To which extent this was applicable to the whole Xanthian elite and court has to be seen from the onomastics level. Based on thorough study of the Lycian onomastics made by Stephen Colvin,³⁰⁶ we should try to decrypt what evidence those names give us in terms of foreign migrations in Lycia.

The onomastic study of Persian names shows a total of 24 names, of which 8 are Persian officials outside Lycia, 7 are of unclear, and therefore doubtful, Persian origin, leaving us with only 9 indisputable Persian names borne by persons who were apparently residents in Lycia, though one was known to be minting coins in Pamphylia and so we could think that those names were those of Persian authority's officials. Only the names *Arppakhu* and *Erbina* (Arbinas aforementioned), who are members of the Xanthian ruling dynasty³⁰⁷, Mede a tomb owner, and Magabata, father of the tomb owner, could have had some Persian familial background.

The dynasts may have chosen their names as a political gesture to their Persian overlords, and the blood-links with Harpagus cannot be demonstrated for sure.³⁰⁸ This may simply have been a sort of mythical lineage to justify their presence at the top of Persian dominated Xanthos, and therefore at the summit of Lycia's political structure.³⁰⁹ Although it seems that the Lycian dynasts who boasted themselves as archers and horsemen in a familiar Persian manner as if they had been educated at a Persian satrapal or royal courts had a thorough knowledge of the Persian court's art.³¹⁰ Therefore the numismatic and epigraphic evidence does not show a significant proof for massive Persian arrivals after the conquest, but rather suggests an attraction of the defeated for the victors' favours, and perhaps even the presence

³⁰⁵ ZAHLE, Jan, 1991, "Achaemenid influences in Lycia (coinage, sculpture, architecture) evidence for political changes during the 5th century B.C.", in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.153.

³⁰⁶ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.44-84, most of the very precise statistics and epigraphic study used in the following pages come from the very exhaustive and precise studies in this article which was also the lead towards a large part of my bibliography on the subject.

³⁰⁷ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1982, "A ruling dynasty in Lycia", *Klio* 64, p.329-37.

³⁰⁸ SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, "Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia", in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.98-105.

³⁰⁹ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1990, "Hellenism in Lycia", in DESCOEUDRES, Jean-Paul (ed), *Greek colonists and native populations, 1st congress of Classical Archaeology in honour of A.D.Trendall, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9 - 14 July 1985*, Canberra, p.536-7.

³¹⁰ HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, « Une lecture iranienne du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos », *Revue des études anciennes* 87, p.125-136.

of the “King’s eye” small delegation. Although we cannot exclude that intermarriages between Lycian noble (but not only dynastic) families in Lycia and Persian noble families settled in Lower Asia were a common thing, and in this perspective the building of a mixed dynasty would have been a clever way to ensure the loyalty of the relatively autonomous region, therefore justifying the use of the expression ‘semi-autonomous’ to describe the political status of Lycia under Persian rule.

After the recapture of the region by the Persians following Artaxerxes III Ochus submission of the satrapic revolt in the mid-fourth century, things may have changed and it could have represented a period of settlements of Persian migrants. Later on the autonomy of the locals was seemingly reduced under the rule of the Hekatomnid Carian satraps.³¹¹ A policy in favour of the settling Persian individuals in Lycia could have been a way of assuring a stronger inclusion of Lycia inside the Persian imperial structure. Persia could have ensured that Xanthos was therefore becoming the beacon of the imperial culture within the province.

The potential presence of Greek individual settlers is even more elusive. Despite the progressive Hellenic influence seen in the architecture, language and institutions (Xanthos’ institutions and infrastructures progressively received Greek names, though they may not have had the same nature as one would have seen in a ‘true’ Greek city)³¹², the population remained undoubtedly overwhelmingly Lycian in number. Indeed, in the classical times and the beginning of the Hellenistic era, Xanthos was a town of the Lycian type, with no Greek feature except for an agora of which we know almost nothing. Even the rampart is to be regarded as oriental. The location of most tombs *intra-muros* was a typically Lycian feature. The presence of tombs around the Harpy Pillar shows that the practice continued well into the third century BC.³¹³ The Greeks had a very short-lived control of Lycia after Cimon, the Athenian general, tried to include Lycia into the Delian League which he was successful in

³¹¹ SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, “Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia”, in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie(ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.97 ; BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.168.

³¹² DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Jacques, 2001, “The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times”, in PARRISH, David (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor : new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 45, p.149-154; ASHERI, David, 1983, *Fra ellenismo e iranismo, Studi sulla società e Cultura di Xanthos nell'età achemenida*, Bologna, p. 87-91 : around 400 BC, at the time of the Inscribed Pillar, the mention of the construction of this pillar to the *katharon temenos ths agoras* (‘pure temenos of an agora’), unfound under the Roman buildings.

³¹³ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Jacques, 2001, “The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times”, in PARRISH, David (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor : new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 45, p.170.

doing so at first.³¹⁴ Anyhow, this phase, even if very short, in which Persia and their Dynasts subjects lost partial control of Lycia might have been the time for a shift of cultural impetus with the consequential arrival of Greek traders and artisans.

Clarisse Herrenschmidt states that it was a desire of Arbinas himself to confirm his subjection to the Great King, in drawing analogies between his manifestations of power over Lycia and the power of the Great King over the empire.³¹⁵ We could have had a small influx of Persian administrators in the repercussion of the satrapal revolt³¹⁶ or even by new settlers following the upheavals in the Near-Eastern in the Hellenistic period.³¹⁷ Once again the evidence of proper noble settlements is not as clear as it is other places in Lower Asia Minor.³¹⁸

The language of inscriptions is surely a significant fact to attest to such impregnation by foreign cultures, though it was the matter of a restricted elite, political, religious or simply higher social classes who could afford the cost of an inscribed burial.³¹⁹ Even without considering the social class issue, it is significant that the great majority of the inscriptions stayed in the epichoric language until late in the fourth century. The usage of Greek seems spasmodic, and is not indubitable proof of the settling of a significant number of Greeks during the epichoric period. Indeed the onomastics of classical Lycia reflects such circumspection about significant Greek or Greek settlements.³²⁰ A small number of migrants may have been attracted to Xanthos in priority over the rest of Lycia and the city surely was probably more cosmopolitan than Lycia in general due to its peculiar political and religious status. The figures in western Lycia show heavy Greek influence on the nomenclature from the beginning: the political influence of the region would have attracted Greek craftsmen and artisans in the turmoil of the fourth century in this region more than any other, gravitating around the dynastic centre. The very Greek aspect of the Nereid monument, Arbinas' tomb

³¹⁴ Cf. Ch.3.i.

³¹⁵ HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, « Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 87, p.125-133.

³¹⁶ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.168.

³¹⁷ Ibid., p.171.

³¹⁸ SEKUNDA, Nicholas, 1991, "Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and greater Phrygia", in SANCISI-WEERDENBURG, Heleen and KUHRT, Amélie (ed), *Achaemenid history, VI : Asia Minor and Egypt : old cultures in a new Empire : proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid history workshop*, Leiden, p.105.

³¹⁹ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1990, "Hellenism in Lycia", in DESCOEUDRES, Jean-Paul (ed), *Greek colonists and native populations, 1st congress of Classical Archaeology in honour of A.D.Trendall, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9 - 14 July 1985*, Canberra, p.536.

³²⁰ Ibid., p.536-540; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.44-84.

next to Xanthos' acropolis, is proof of such exposition to Greek arts and crafts and the progressively increasing attraction of local elite to it.

However this should not conceal the fact that Xanthos and Lycia remained a nation of its own. This is especially true in central Lycia where the large frequency of Lycian names seems to have held on for longer than in western Lycia. This tends to show a slower rate of penetration of Greek people and ideas into the isolated valleys and mountainous divides of this region: 30% of names in Lycian language inscriptions are followed by a parental name, of which 80 % are Lycian-named offspring from Lycian-named parents, 9% are Greek-named offspring from Lycian-named parents, 8% Lycian-named offspring from Greek-named parents, 1% Greek-named offspring from Greek-named parents (the remaining involved Persian and Carian names). Around half of the inscriptions attesting cross-over naming (Lycian to Greek or Greek to Lycian) are bilingual. Families that were sufficiently cosmopolitan to erect bilingual texts are in any case likely to have practised inter-marriage, or to have desired a hellenised designation for other reasons. Almost all the cases where Lycian-named parents have Greek-named offspring are in western Lycia while the reverse is more frequent in central Lycia (but in little number, as is the number of inscriptions in this particular region as a whole). Greek inscriptions of the fourth century show almost no examples of such cross-over naming, in the Hellenistic period over 80% of inscribed names were followed by a parent's name, and the pattern is really different, showing a real trend for Lycian-named parents to give a Greek name to their offspring: 30% of names in Lycian language inscriptions are followed by a parental name, of which 9% are Lycian-named offspring from Lycian-named parents, 12% are Greek-named offspring from Lycian-named parents, 5% Lycian-named offspring from Greek-named parents, 74% Greek-named offspring from Greek-named parents.³²¹

In the late Hellenistic period, the pattern stays the same, except for a shift of 2% from the Greek naming by Greeks toward the Lycian naming by Greeks, probably in conjunction with the development of confidence of the Hellenic East and the decline of the more traditional economic and cultural Hellenic influence as observed in the classical Greek world. In the earlier period, the will to conform to an authentic 'Greekness' to satisfy the new ruler and their strict norms may have pushed for the Greek-naming of new generations, and therefore facilitating their social integration. With the late Hellenistic period, the number of generations indicated for each individual tended to increase with a couple of instances where great-grandparents are named, perhaps as a way of showing that the noble ascendancy goes back to a number of generations and the usage of the Lycian indigenous names may have

³²¹ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p. 54.

been discredited. Greeks were the new rulers, and to be someone you had to be part of the empire.

The difference between male and female names is especially evident given that Lycian society was known for its matrilineal naming and social structure.³²² In the Hellenistic period, in the mentioning of lineage, the importance of women was exaggerated compared to mainland Greece: they were prominent in the erection of burial and inscriptions and were often defined by patronymics and may have acted independently from men. A brother and a sister, Straton and Arsinoe, in Patara jointly funded a tomb for their father.³²³ In Xanthos, Lalla and her two sons, one of which was adopted by his maternal grandfather and therefore took his name while his brother Tlepolemos carries the name of his father, paternal grandfather and great-grandfather, are burying her father Timanthes.³²⁴ There is also evidence in Lycia of marriages between siblings, most likely unrelated half-siblings.³²⁵ In an inscription from Arsada,³²⁶ a woman named Orsonna gives the names of both parents (Lycian-named) plus their fathers, her paternal grandfather had a Greek name, her maternal one a Lycian name. The mention of the mother as a joint sponsor is unusual in a Greek perspective, especially as she was identified by a patronymic (the father of a Greek woman ceases to be her legal *kyrios* when she gets married as she becomes part of her husband's *oikos* and is identified by reference to him). The alternation of Lycian and Greek names is not really significant as the occurrence of Greek names is there more frequent for men than women, even within the same families. On the grounds that Greek names were useful for the advancement in the public world of the Hellenistic city, parents may have given Greek names to male offspring for the sake of their future public life, or the adult individual chose a Greek name alongside the Lycian name he received from his parents at birth.³²⁷

³²² Herodotus I.173: “νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων”.

³²³ TAM II.472, Hellenistic; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p. 55.

³²⁴ TAM II.309, Late Hellenistic; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.55.

³²⁵ TAM II.593, Tlos, Late Hellenistic, public decree honouring Nanna, wife and sister of Agathokles ; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.55.

³²⁶ SEG XXVII, 906.3, Late Hellenistic; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p. 55.

³²⁷ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.54.

The gender of Lycian names is more difficult to determine than that of the Greeks, especially in Lycian-language inscriptions or with Lycian names turned into Greek. Lycian, like other Hittite-Luwian languages, does not have a morphological distinction between masculine and feminine substantives. The Lycian for son, *tideimi*, in 'x son of y' could also mean 'child'.³²⁸ So only the Greek names can be used to state statistics on gender onomastic practices. So considering Greek inscriptions, for the fourth century, 26% of the names were females, while in the Hellenistic and the Late Hellenistic, only 5% were. This might however be just due to the sheer greater number of inscriptions: while inscribing was the privilege of the wealthier in the native language period it might have become the practice of a wider audience in the Hellenistic period. Therefore it seems logical that women of the elite would erect more inscriptions and would simply be more worthy of mention, and female names would therefore have had a greater weight in our corpora. It could have been that the attitude of the Greeks towards women was matched with a larger change of Hellenistic cultural and social behaviour, in this case the large practice of inscribing. In the fourth century all female names were Lycian except for a couple of exceptions from Phaselis. Female names resisted more than male names: in the Hellenistic period, 85% of female names were Lycian, and then it fell to 43% in the later part of this period; by contrast Greek names are already 40% of males in the fourth century, and this rose to 80% in the subsequent period. Of the 7 % of names in Greek inscriptions are marked with a rank of high status (public rank or office mentioned), 85% were Greek names and 10% were Lycian names. In the fourth century almost all the inscriptions were private (mostly funerary) and two thirds of the names attested were Lycian. However in the Hellenistic period 21% of these inscriptions were private and names in these were just about equally divided between Greek and Lycian. In the Late Hellenistic, it dropped to 26% of Lycian names. In public inscriptions Lycian names were less important, in the Hellenistic period only 10% of the names were Lycian (compared to the 47% in the private inscriptions). Persian and Carian names are mostly found in public texts of western Lycia (80%) and there are no female names among these.³²⁹

In terms of theophoric names, the name of traditional Leto was probably inadequate (*eni qlahi ebiyehi*) to figure in personal names (also, for example, Ploutos and Persephone which almost do not exist in Greek onomastic). But it is significant enough to point out that the main divinity of Lycia and Xanthos does not appear, as far as we know in the Lycian

³²⁸ non-gender specific in TL 27.6; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.56.

³²⁹ All this paragraph is based on COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen(ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.55-7.

onomastic and as we should point out later on, she does not appear in the coinage either, so this could be more than a mere linguistic issue. The question of Artemis derivatives in this area of Asia Minor is a tricky one. There is an indigenous name found in Greek transcriptions that seems to be *Artima-* (open mid-vowel, close end-vowel). It is not found in its simple form in the Lycian language but the compound *Erttimeli*, which is found in the Letoon Trilingual³³⁰ may be influenced by *Ertemi*, the name of the goddess Artemis.³³¹ A similar-sounding Persian name makes things more complicated.³³² The Lycian *Αρτ(ε)μας* is a masculine name, given that the simple form Artemis in Greek is a female name which through the compound *Αρτεμίδωπος* may apply to men. There is no possibility that either of the languages borrowed from the other. There is no independent evidence for an indigenous deity with a comparable designation.³³³

There are 21 male-names derivatives of Artemis (Ἀρτεμας, Ἀρτεμης, Ἀρτεμων, Ἀρτεμίδωρος) and one instance of Artemis. It has been rejected that this was due to some phonetic similarities with a Lycian familiar name.³³⁴ However, there might be a phonetic parallel that may have promoted the name of the goddess in masculine names. Men with the Lycian name *Artimas* may have translated it into the more usual Greek *Artemas* for the purpose of civic business and epigraphic record. Except for *Artemns* (only one instance in Rhodes, probably related with Asia Minor), the other names are fairly common in Greece (*Artemwn*, *Artemidwros*: over one hundred instances in Athens, *Artemas*). Unlike the Apollo derivatives, equally spread over the Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic period, the Artemis derivatives are rising in the latest period (over 80% of the occurrences).

The most common divine stem in Lycian is *Erm-*. Unfortunately it is impossible to know if it was [erm-] or [herm-]. Whether, or for how long, the aspirate was pronounced, the difference between the two stems may as well have been more ideological than phonological (Lycian were able to pronounce the *h* but failed to translate it in Lycian inscriptions (*ijeru*<

³³⁰ Neufunde Lykischer Inschriften 320.5, Ἀρτηλιν in the Greek version ; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.60.

³³¹ Neufunde Lykischer Inschriften 312, Letoon, IV; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.60.

³³² Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 7.8.25; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.60 : possibly spurious: there is a mention of a Lycian archon named Ἀρτίμας who is an agent of Persia and figures in a list of regents.

³³³ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.60.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.60, cf.n.32.

Ἑρῶν ; *Exeteija* < Ἑκαταῖος).³³⁵ It is therefore very difficult to know if some of the *Erm*-names were based on Hermes.

This success was largely based on the similarity between a Greek divinity and a Lycian name, which could be, without too much doubt, based on a Luwian divinity, *Arma*-, the moon goddess. The Lycian form of the noun is only found in one example of Limyra, *Er~mmenn~eni*.³³⁶ Greek names in *herm*- are represented by 44 tokens of 13 types of which 2/3 are from Hellenistic times and 1/3 from the later period. Hermias and Hermon are fairly common in Athens and Rhodes, Hermaphilos, Hermaphantes and Hermoleon. There are 37 occurrences (18 or 19 types) of Lycian names, of which 38% are coming from the earlier period. There is a slight fluctuation in rendering the first vowel in Greek: in 6 instances (5 types) a name was found written *Arm*- and *Erm*-. The numbers of *ERM*- names in Lycia points to the conclusion that the occurrence of both Greek and Lycian types in father-son and grandfather-grandson is indicative of a perceived connection between the two (thus Hermaios son of Armedumnos,³³⁷ Hermokrates son of Ermatoboris,³³⁸ etc.).³³⁹

After the Letoan triad, it was Men and Zeus which were the most frequently used in theophoric names without apparent local significance though: Men was an Anatolian (Phrygian) divinity and does not appear in Lycian names but only in Greek names. Names in Men are common in Athens and elsewhere from the third century onwards.³⁴⁰

In general “for a non-Greek elite under pressure to Hellenize, the resources of Greek culture and history must have constituted a tempting reservoir of names.”³⁴¹ Even though the inspiration for names came mostly from the artisans and soldiers who settled massively in South-west of Asia Minor in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, for the “epigraphic” class, the elite which had the means to build funerary monuments and inscribe on them, the focus must have been set rather higher. Moreover there is a strong Lycian presence in the Greek myths (especially the *Illiad*) and this could have been a reservoir for Greek-naming as well.

There is no consensus on this but a conservative 10% of the names (13% of Greek names) are mythologically relevant: the Athenian canons of literature: Aeschylus (5), Aristophanes (3), Demosthenes (6), Lysias (2), Menander (4), Plato (2), Sophocles (1). Diomedes (3),

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.60-1.

³³⁶ *Ibid.* p.61, cf. n.34 ; TL 121.4.

³³⁷ TAM II 168.a43.

³³⁸ TAM II 550.20.

³³⁹ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.61.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p.62.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

Glaukos (2), Menelaos (3), Patroklos (1), Polydoros (1), Priam (2), Sarpedon (3) and Tlepolemos (8) were from Homer, apart from Glaukos, none of these are common in Athens. Homeric Lycian names were rare (less than 10) in Athens, Atalanta, Daidalos, Euterpe, Hippolytos, Kastor, Meleager, Midas, Patroklos, Peisistratos, Polydoros, Priam, Sarpedon and Tithonos. In Lycia, unlike in Athens, the unhappy end of the mythological character was not a criterion in consideration, especially if it was mythologically linked with the peninsula.³⁴² The ‘herophoric’ usage of Glaukos (‘grey’) was certainly stronger in Lycia than in Athens, because especially used for Lycian claims of Homeric heroic respectability.

Sarpedon enjoyed a cult in Xanthos and lent his name, along with Iobates, to a civic division of the city in the Hellenistic era.³⁴³ In a family of Tlos³⁴⁴ one Sarpedon named his son Hippolochos, identified in the Iliad as the son of Bellerophon and the father of Glaukos. Many of the herophoric names found in Lycia were rare elsewhere and have a peculiar mythological link with Lycia. For example, Daidalos (four instances) is said to have died in Lycia and given his name to the city of Daidala.³⁴⁵ Hippolytos had also a particular relation with Artemis. His experience with a passionate and rancorous step-mother links him with the Lycian hero Bellerophon. A number of the names were the result of influence or import from neighbouring regions. For example Caria and western Lycia show a number of common local peculiarities. It was a massive wave of settlers (a “wave of soldiers, administrators, merchants and carpetbaggers”)³⁴⁶ following the Macedonian invasion in the late fourth century that must have had an onomastic influence on the local population at this critical period of Hellenisation. Clearly not all of them were Macedonians in origin, they may have borne Greek names not localisable in Macedonia. In the Roman period, the practice on the part of new citizens of adopting the names of Roman local dignitaries is traceable and attested. Around 17% of the names were particularly characteristic of Macedonia (15% for the earlier period and 19% for the later). The behaviour of Lycians toward Greek theophoric names was radically different from mainland Greece: while Patroklos sounded very strange in Athens (3 instances in the Roman period), “such onomastic grandeur struck Lycian ears as appropriate and impressive.”³⁴⁷

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid., p.63; ROBERT, Louis, 1978, « Les conquêtes du dynaste lycien Arbinas », *Journal des Savants*, p.34-5: in Lycian, *Zrppedu* (TL 44d.6).

³⁴⁴ TAM II 551.22; COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.63.

³⁴⁵ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.63.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., p.64.

³⁴⁷ Ibid.

Some Lycians (especially men) may have answered to 2 names: one Lycian, for private and family purpose, one Greek for public business. There is evidence from inscriptions for double names throughout Asia Minor, particularly in Caria, Cilicia, Lycia, Lydia, Pisidia, and Phrygia: separated by the standard formula *‘ο’η καί* (‘also known as’) most of the time or just apposed next to another.³⁴⁸ However, it is not proven that any instance of double names dates back before the Roman times and may well so have been “a late fashion of the peninsula or perhaps a romantic reassertion of native heritage similar to that evidenced in Laconia of the same period.”³⁴⁹

Moreover, Ladislav Zgusta has shown that the number of cases of bilingual double names is roughly equivalent to the number of cases of double indigenous names. In both cases the majority of double denominations concern women (given that most of the data comes from the two first century AD). Zgusta³⁵⁰ points out the case of a man in Istlada designated by both *‘Ερμαγόρας* and *Ερμαρας*.

There was also some other less grandiose use of Greek names such as the unflattering names, referring to body parts or physical characteristics, common in Greece, which were rather rare in Greek names of Lycia which were more usually based on heroic names. Indeed, insulting names such as *Ἀισκύλος* (*ἄισκος*) were clearly taken from Greek sources without regards for their components. But also such names connected to plants, animals (*lukos* successful in Lycia for obvious homonymic reasons), personal characteristics, profession, etc., are used in the Lycian corpus of Greek names.³⁵¹

The rarity of such names compared to the number of heroic/theophoric names might suggest that the Greek speaking communities in Lycia were made up mostly of converted or assimilated locals rather than actual immigrants from the old world. The onomastic picture in Lycia appears to be quite different from the one of its closest cultural and linguistic parallel and also neighbour, Caria. In this latter region, indigenous names had disappeared by the Roman period while Greek names in Lycia increased significantly during the Hellenistic period, but the use of indigenous names remained somewhat stable there for quite a long time. The use of Greek names was also often followed, the subsequent generation, by a Lycian name: a man from Kadyanda³⁵² called *Ἀρτέμων* has a father called *Ορνειμις* and a grandfather *Μεγιστόδοτος* (and an adoptive father with a very Carian name

³⁴⁸ Ibid., p.67.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Ibid. ; ZGUSTA, Ladislav, 1964, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague, p.355, 24.

³⁵¹ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.68.

³⁵² Ibid., p.69; TAM II, 650.Ib.2, late Hellenistic.

Pixodaros). Brothers and spouses may similarly have had names from the two different traditions. Differences between male and female naming patterns point to the conclusion that there was a certain ‘bilingualism’ in the onomastic habits of the Lycians: men were likely to have a Greek name in a public text, and may indeed have had two names. This onomastic bilingualism was concomitant with an actual bilingual situation. To what extent this ambivalent linguistic situation was translated into two different social spheres, Lycian for private sphere and Greek for public sphere is difficult to tell? This would certainly give credit to the idea that beneath a polished, official Greek surface, the indigenous nature of the people was very much alive.³⁵³

If such a functional dichotomy (some would dare to say schizophrenia) existed, it would be tempting to consider that Lycian survived in a spoken form until the Roman period, in spite of the absence of any epigraphic material. The choice of ambiguous names to bridge the gap was frequent. Indeed the choice of Greek names which had an association with Lycia reconciles the two identities: the Hellenistic and the patriotic. The Lycians believed that based on their privileged legendary status in the literary basis of Greek culture they were less contradictory in being hellenised and Lycian than their neighbours might have been.

Geographically the absorption of Greek names in contact with Rhodes (Doric consonances) and Pamphylia from an early period left its marks.³⁵⁴ Greeks were doubtlessly familiar visitors to Lycian ports for centuries, owing to the prominent situation of the country on the trade routes to the eastern Mediterranean. Ionic influence (Greek colonies to the north, names such as *φιλτῆς*) and Doric influence (cities such as Halikarnassos) were probably the result of trade. The short inclusion into the Delian League in the fifth century and the incursion of Athenians to gather contributions during the Peloponnesian war were the first direct Greek interference. The Xanthos stele³⁵⁵ shows that by the end of this period the Lycians were familiar with the political geography of their particularly noisy neighbours to the west. In the late fifth and fourth century there was increasing demand in the dynastic courts of the Xanthos valley for Greek technical expertise. This “fuelled, and was in turn fuelled by, an increase in the presence of skilled Greek craftsmen. It is clear that Greek *tekhne* was valued by this time, not merely as a means to an end (for example, a fine building for a local dynast), but as an end in itself.”³⁵⁶ The epigraphy may have borne a ‘Greekness’ for the sake of it. A political leader who understood the reference and implications of it may have chosen the name Perikles. By the Macedonian period, it must

³⁵³ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.69.

³⁵⁴ Ibid., p.69-70.

³⁵⁵ TL 44-5.

³⁵⁶ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.70.

have been clear that the destiny of the country was a part of the Greek world. The borrowing of a herophoric and theophoric onomastic heritage to the new Macedonian elite stimulated a rapid increase of the adoption of Greek names and the use of the Greek language in this period. The Lycians were then stimulated to dig their mythological past for onomastic inspiration and ideological comfort.³⁵⁷

The conclusion for all of this onomastic evidence is in the absence of a strong proof for migration by either Greek or Persian individuals during the Classical period, there is a strong suspicion for a timely fashioned and sporadic arrival of Persian nobles and imperial administrators as well as Greek craftsmen and specialists. In the Hellenistic times the Greek presence became stronger and the movement towards 'Hellenisation' in the motifs and artistic representations became the norm. Nonetheless the Lycian individuals on the elite level, the only one we really know about, stayed strongly patriotic, and the few reflections on their private sphere certainly show an only slightly abraded indigenous identity. As the Lycians embraced the mass-inscribing into their way of life they allowed us to see that they kept quite massively their ancient indigenous names and when they took Greek names, these were names in linguistic relation with Lycian etymologies or mythological relation with the history of their region. There is also very little proof of any massive colonisation of the Lycian society by a Persian community and little more by a Greek community at least prior to the Hellenistic period.

Thanks to Stephen Colvin's studies, we have now proper statistics in terms of the quantity and quality of names in Lycia during the Hellenistic era, and therefore know more about the transformations of the Lycian population. This gives us insights into how and by whom Lycia was populated in the Hellenistic and also in the Classical times. Certainly the presence and absence of Persian names is the revelatory element to understanding the long-lasting impact of the Persian rule over the conquered populations of Lycia. In the case of the Greek names, we cannot rely so much on Hellenistic statistics to extrapolate into the Classical period. Nonetheless it gives an insight on how the indigenous society and the Greek omnipresent culture interacted. Therefore we should move on to the main topic of this dissertation and what previous chapters have led us to, the matters of Persian and Greek influence on the religious infrastructures and rituals, as well as the acculturation of local myths and divinities.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

Chapter 4: the progressive acculturation of Xanthos and the Letoon: the cultural Greek and Persian elements

The Persian rule over Lycia lasted for two and a half centuries during which Persian influence was a direct feature on what and how things were built and produced in Xanthos. The Persian rule was, as stated above, looser than what we see elsewhere in western Anatolia but had nonetheless some effect over the Lycian way of life and the dynasts in charge were the main vector for the mixed culture favoured by the masters of Persepolis. This influence was, however, concentrated around a ruling elite, an elite which guaranteed the safe and beneficial regulation of what happened in Lycia for the Persian authorities. This limitation meant that the effects of Persian art, symbols and way of thinking are seen mainly in the numerous ostentatious tombs and epic inscriptions. Over that period, it is not only the Persian influence we see appearing, the Greek presence grows ever more ubiquitous through, solely at first, the import of ceramics, then with the limited but significant arrival of merchants and handcrafters. Subsequently, during the fourth century, and especially the last half century of Persian rule, Lycia is put under the direct control of the Hekatomnid satraps. During this phase the Greek culture and symbolic art becomes a more vibrant reality for the citizens of Xanthos. We will try in this chapter to see how this era of rapid change influenced Xanthian art and architecture, how the Persians treated the matter of local religion and renovated the Letoon, and how Greek tradition infiltrated the very Lycian idea of themselves through its most important symbols and myths. Our point here is to understand the cultural situation of the Xanthian society at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, how it had been 'hellenised' and 'persianised'. In many aspects the city and its sanctuary looked like a multicultural city, showing signs of a mixed society. This is this multiculturalism and its extent we are trying to expose in this chapter.

i-The Achaemenids and the Xanthian culture and religion:

By the time Persian rule in Lycia ended, the Letoon and the religious practices of the Xanthians had changed considerably. We pointed out earlier, using the example of Sardis, in chapter II, that the Persians had a deep monumental and cultural impact on the development of the cities of Anatolia they occupied. We also argued that comparing Sardis with Xanthos was only partially relevant. While it is useful to compare the two cities, they are not perfect parallels. Sardis was a major knot in the imperial structure, a satrap's capital, while Xanthos is only the biggest city of a remote, semi-autonomous region, even though the local dynasts are of Persian descent. Particularly relevant in the example of Sardis, however, is the fact

that the Persians had the habit of assimilating and acculturating local traditions and ways of life, not erasing them. Religion was no exception in this occupiers' respect for local cultures, while fusing them with Persian cultural elements into new local imperial art forms. In Sardis they not only built new places of worship and altars for Persian cults for the growing Persian community in the city and encouraged local devotion for cults destined to become imperial, but also enhanced and somewhat favoured the indigenous temples and worship structures.³⁵⁸ The reorganization of cults brought the building of new elements which carried not only Persian but also Greek facets.

The apparent tolerance of the Persian authorities toward indigenous cults ought to be even truer in the case of semi-autonomous Xanthos. This tolerance had nonetheless some limitations and once again we should point out the type of active decisions the Persian administration took in relation to the religious infrastructure of Sardis in order to better apprise the ones they might have taken in Xanthos.

Artemis of Sardis, much like the Xanthian Leto, but maybe to an even greater extent, is a local divinity of importance in western Anatolia and was already worshipped as such in Achaemenid times. She figures in numerous Lydian-language inscriptions from Sardis itself.³⁵⁹ An Achaemenid-period altar found in the remains of the city was still sacred in Hellenistic times when a temple of Artemis was built on the same site, which suggests that the altar was also dedicated to Artemis. It was made in the religious architectural shape of the Ionian Greek cities, but the addition of steps is a feature of Persian fire altars. The altar was a hybrid between an East Greek form and a Persian fire altar for the veneration of a local form of Artemis (maybe a derivative of the Ephesian Artemis but more obviously a Sardian Artemis).³⁶⁰ Maybe the rituals themselves were also a hybrid between a Persian fire altar and another libation/sacrifice altar to Artemis. The iconography seems indeed to show that there was a practice of burning animals on or in front of the altar.³⁶¹ The financial expenditure and the degree of ostentation shown in the work done to build such an impressive altar and to convert the worship of a local deity into an hybrid cult. This tends to show a significant implication of the Persian authorities in creating some new imperial forms of religion, while, at the same time, respecting the local religion.³⁶² This way, religion, as culture in general, was a mean of constructing, on local levels, the new imperial local society necessary to maintain loyalty and the sense of belonging to the Persian empire.

³⁵⁸ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.60-3.

³⁵⁹ Ibid., cf. her Chapter 5.

³⁶⁰ Ibid., p.61-3; DODGE, Hazel, 1990, "The architectural impact of Rome in the east", in HENIG, Martin (ed), *Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire*, p.108-120.

³⁶¹ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.63-4.

³⁶² Ibid., p.64-6.

Another altar from the pre-Achaemenid period, this time dedicated to Kybele, was converted during Achaemenid times into a fire-altar. The lions, indicative of Kybele, which had garnered the four corners, were removed and placed inside the altar.³⁶³ Perhaps this is a case of hybridising: the altar may simply have been rebuilt in the Achaemenid period to become a fire altar, contrasting with the previously cited altar of Artemis. In this case there is no continuity of religion but the conversion of the indigenous sacred monument into a pure Mazdaic shrine, this time hiding the lions. Nevertheless, sources show a vibrant cult of Kybele in Achaemenid Sardis, which certainly had been displaced by the Persian authorities.³⁶⁴

The picture drawn by the example of these two altars shows a complex reorganisation of the cult spaces in Achaemenid Sardis. This also shows that under Persian rule, local cults were cultivated and allowed to survive if not fostered as an integral part of the religious syncretism of local and imperial religions and deities, even though sometimes in different forms or places. They had to leave room for new divinities or be flexible to accommodate new forms of rituals which incorporated foreign elements. This is also showing in the blending of divinities' names such as Artemis-*Anahita*, yet the purely Persian cults found their places in 'occupied' communities. Although the cult of Kybele endured well in other places in the city, its original altar was rebuilt and converted to a new use, perhaps a Persian-style fire altar. In Xanthos we have no evidence that the Mother-Goddess received a Persian name, and so far evidence do not show that the Persian authorities impacted on the cult spaces per se. Maybe the absence of a Persian community of the size of the one in Sardis did not require for the Persians to influence the cults and the temples and altars as much as they had had in Sardis.

About the renowned great temple of Artemis in Sardis, the columns were dedicated by Croesus and the construction certainly continued under Persian rule, as they did on the Artemision of Ephesus which construction was continued under Persian rule. The temple of Artemis and what is possibly a temple of Kybele suggest that the temples built in Sardis under the Achaemenid rule were considerably Greek in style but also allowed a significant proportion of Near-Eastern schemes of decoration, like the motifs we see in Xanthos on monumental tombs which have also somewhat religious meanings.³⁶⁵ The syncretisms attested by the architecture of the religious buildings are confirmed by literary and

³⁶³ RAMAGE, Andrew and CRADDOCK, Paul T., 2000, *King Croesus' gold : excavations at Sardis and the history of gold refining, with contributions by Michael R. Cowell and alii.*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, p.72-80.

³⁶⁴ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.67-8.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p.68-69; Demargne, Pierre, 1958, *Fouilles de Xanthos I, Les piliers funéraires*, Paris.

epigraphic evidences.³⁶⁶ The cults of Achaemenid Sardis became more syncretic, covering a variety of traditions under one deity. Moreover the development of new sacred monuments in Achaemenid Sardis attests to even more complicated manifestations of cultural interactions and of the strengthening of the imperial new cultural context. However in the words of Elspeth Dusinberre herself “Emotional investment in cult is great and sacred practices are particularly sensitive indicators of human relationships in their demonstration of authority and status, or their overseeing of social transitions.”³⁶⁷ The link therefore created between a local and an imperial divinities is a strong manifestation of the imperial determination to create a fusion of local, Persian and Greek culture.³⁶⁸ On the one hand the Persians assert their authority over the recently conquered and on the other they try to assimilate different cultures, Lydian, Persian and Greek, into one highly symbolic and “emotional” new monument.³⁶⁹

The sanctuary of the Sardian Artemis received the *asylia* from the Persians. This is however no proof of her assimilation into *Anaitis*. Indeed there certainly was a specific cult to Artemis *Persike* (other name of *Anahita/Anaitis*) in Sardis which may have been the Artemis *Koloe* cited in three different inscriptions. Strabo puts her sanctuary 40 stadia (1 stadium = 176.4 metres) north of the city, who cites well-known festivities for the goddess (XIII.4,5), next to a lake. Artemis *Koloe* could well have been assimilated to the Iranian *Anahita*, who is also a water goddess.³⁷⁰ This also proves that there was a significant settlement of Persian/Iranian population, and this not only within the big satrapal residencies, but also in the rural areas of western Asia Minor. This shows that the Empire did not solely rely on the formation of a mixed elite to guarantee the loyalty of the new provinces and as conveyors of the Persian culture to the local societies, but also on the physical presence of an extensive presence of Persian settlers in the other layers of society. Therefore we might think that there was more Persian presence in Xanthos than just a loyal dynasty and its court. The contacts in Sardis between different ethnic groups must have been permanent as shown by the example of an Iranian official named Droaphernes,³⁷¹ who is consecrating a statue to a local Lydian Zeus, showing that Persian imperial servants were venerating purely Lydian divinities and

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p.76.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p.199.

³⁶⁸ BEDFORD, Peter, 1996, “Early Achaemenid monarchs and indigenous cults: Toward the definition of imperial policy” in DILLON, Matthew (ed), *Religion in the Ancient World: New themes and approaches*, Amsterdam, p.17-39, studies the imperial ideology towards the local religions: the author argues that the idea it might have been a frequent, if not systematic, policy of the empire to syncretise local cults with imperial ones relies on shaky grounds, instead he argues that the early Achaemenid kings assert their authority over local populations by showing themselves as protectors of the local cults.

³⁶⁹ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.199.

³⁷⁰ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L’histoire de l’empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, Fayard, p.723-4.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

therefore respecting local religion and traditions, including themselves within the local population and culture.

The seals of Sardis are a good source of evidence for Lydian/Persian interactions, as well as the intervention of Greek artists and the subsequent assimilation of Hellenic and Persian elements by the local population.³⁷² They also show that the relations between the Persian elite and the Greeks were welcoming.³⁷³ The particular use of religion to accommodate the Persian main divinities with the local ones, urban or rural, comes with the attempt to include the local elite within the imperial structure. There is no abuse of local divinities or forced syncretisms. The intentions of the empire seem to be to create a mixed culture, religion included, in the same way that it is creating a mixed elite in regional centres. The divinities and temples show a complete merging between Greek, Persian and indigenous cultures and religions. The new product is a common ground for cosmopolitan society where foreign communities adapted to the local context as much as the indigenous population adapted to the foreign communities, Greek and Persian, and the Persian rule.

The Sardian Artemis temple's council of priests was moreover a powerful juridical entity, the rulings of which were backed up by the persuasion of a divine curse. It was a powerful body, but not limited to Lydians. Droaphernes, an Iranian administrator whom we cited just above in the previous paragraph, was involved with local cult and Iranians adopted local practices of dedication that were foreign to Mazdaism, adapting local cults to their own beliefs and adapting to local cults as a community, sparring the local customs from too radical changes which might have turned the conquered population against their presence. Indeed the Achaemenid power were trying to show themselves as benefactors and protectors of the local main divinity and even further supported the sanctuary and its social importance. The sanctuary was an integral part of the new political deal. The fact that the use of Lydian language survived into the Hellenistic period as well as the prevalence of Lydian names throughout the period and the continuity of grave inscriptions, demonstrate the ability of the Achaemenid regime to prosper in Lydia and Sardis while allowing local customs to continue. The Achaemenid institutions showed a real pragmatic flexibility in such treatments of local particularities.³⁷⁴

Our concern here is to know if this cultural and social blend is applicable to Xanthos. Of course Xanthos is not Sardis and Lycia is not Caria. The Persian grip on Lycia was seemingly looser (at least until the second half of the fourth century when the satraps of Caria received direct control of the region) and Xanthos was in no way comparable in size

³⁷² Cf. ch.2.ii.

³⁷³ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L'histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.723-4.

³⁷⁴ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.126-7.

and importance to Sardis, somewhat the capital of Persian presence in Asia Minor. The close link between Sardis and the capital of Persia was a prerequisite for consolidating the empire, at the other end of the royal road, the stronghold of Achaemenid power in Asia Minor.

Xanthos was at best a minor city, though its loyalty was requirement for the loyalty of Lycia.

In this respect, the Letoon also changed a lot during the Persian era. It is only under the Persian occupation that the sanctuary acquired a structured, well-built and monumental aspect.³⁷⁵ As such, the sixth century buildings of Xanthos and the Letoon do not immediately reflect the Persian influence, and stayed relatively Lycian/Anatolian until the fourth century. It is only from the last quarter of the fifth century that the Persian influence penetrates through, and it reached a momentum at the time of Arbinnas, when also perhaps a small colony of Persian settlers within the city, through the adoption of Persian architectural and iconographic standards. In Xanthos the paleo-Christians have ruined most of the buildings of this time, but north of the Letoon, a structure looks like what is found in the Achaemenid palaces. The builders typically used typically Persian architecture techniques, found in eastern Anatolia and Northern Iran. The building style of the structure seems to imply that the complex had an administrative, and not a purely religious, purpose.³⁷⁶ The Classical temples, at the contrary, had a typically Lycian structure. The Persian authorities were showing real comprehension for the local cults at that time, at least in the case of Xanthos and the Letoon, and probably did not insist too much on the types of buildings for religious matters. Still, for the administrative buildings, even those within the Letoon, the respect of local traditions was not as strong as it was with purely religious buildings.³⁷⁷ The impact of the Persian authorities seems to have been limited in the Letoon and the only direct architectural impact they had was limited to administrative buildings. This supports the idea that like for the sanctuary of Artemis of Sardis, the Letoon was a source of taxes for the empire. The goals of the Persian authorities were to regulate, optimize and benefit from the success of the sanctuary. Moreover, respect of the indigenous divinities was a good way to ensure the cooperation of the population who would have sensitive to the deference of the new rulers for what they held most sacred. Nevertheless the building of distinctively Persian buildings was perhaps made to instil the idea that they were in control despite not touching to the indigenous nature of the indigenous cults. Once again, the unique Persian idea of mixed society and imperial authority is recurrent.

³⁷⁵ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « La région des portiques du Letôôn de Xanthos », *Compte rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, p.620.

³⁷⁶ METZGER, Henri, 1992, in *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, ch.2, p.17-39.

³⁷⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la découverte du monde Lycien », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.15-16.

Indeed the sanctuary did not suffer any major structural upheaval before Arbinas' time in the beginning of the fourth century. This should indicate that the Persians had very little interest in upsetting the local rituals and the cult practices, as well as the very nature of the divinities. The real impact of the Persians on the nature of the cults of Classical Xanthos may have been more insidious and the peculiar status of Lycia within the empire seems to have influenced the way the Persians affected religion in Xanthos. We have seen earlier the limited interaction the Persians had on other aspects of Lycian culture. The building of a multiethnic society is here in Xanthos much more progressive than in Sardis. The real Persian impact on Xanthian culture comes mainly from economic and artistic exchanges and from the obedience and admiration from the local elite for the Achaemenid representations of power, but not from any substantial Persian presence in the city or the region, at least not to the extent of what is seen in Sardis. The main factor for the import of Persian imagery is the attraction of the local elite for elite culture of their overlords. The Xanthian dynasts probably well-educated in a Persian ways were showing themselves as satraps of Lycia, and their court probably followed in their wake to assimilate a number of Persian cultural elements.

Most artistic documents of Xanthos were not merely made in a Persian or a local fashion. There are most the time made on the models of Greco-Persian materials and therefore are the result of a complex mix between native, Persian and Greek artistic and literary influences.

ii-The Greco-Persian artefacts of Xanthos

We have shown previously, mainly based on the example of Sardis, that the Persian influence on architectural artefacts was delicate but real, and that, however different the case of Xanthos is, it seems to follow this pattern of interactions. The Persian presence in Xanthos was limited at best. This signifies that Persian elements integrated into the elite's artefacts and furthermore into the symbolic, artistic and religious, iconography and objects had to be adopted, somewhat chosen.

In order to understand how the common people received the Persian cultural influence, we have to go back once again to the example of Sardis. Seemingly, the non-elite individuals in Sardis were less prone to this cultural porosity. The common pattern of buildings for the usage of non-elite individuals usage follows pre-Achaemenid traditions.³⁷⁸ Indeed, in general, few public spaces or monuments other than cult centres, have been found in Sardis

³⁷⁸ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.75.

for the Achaemenid period.³⁷⁹ We saw earlier that in Xanthos and in Lycia it is through sculptures and reliefs that the traces of Persian influences are the most visible. In Xanthos, on the building “G”, some squires are standing with their hand over the back of the horse, in the very fashion of Persepolis.³⁸⁰

The influence of Achaemenid symbolic art is especially discernable on the Harpy tomb. A prince on throne handing a lotus, with servants, gifts-offerers lining up in front of him, in a general scene that resembles the Treasury audience scenes of Darius/Xerxes. At Karaburun, we mentioned a tomb, contemporary of the Harpy tomb, bearing signs of deep Iranian influences and whose artist was certainly influenced by a Persepolitan model. So early on (circa 480/70) the Persian canons of iconography are part of the vision of dynasts. Especially in the case of a prominent tomb on the acropolis of the main city in Lycia, the obvious Persian style would have been a real statement of cultural allegiance. This is nonetheless a real Lycian monument, in the general way it was built as well as in its location, but it shows how the Xanthian elite incorporated Persian elements into their way of thought.

Therefore, from Xanthos to Karaburun, there are multiple clear signs of Iranian cultural influences in Lycia. Local dynasts like to represent themselves in the style of the Great Kings (cf. fig.10). The case of Xanthos is peculiar as the local dynasty claims to be directly descended from Harpagus, the Cyrus’ lieutenant who conquered Caria, Kaunos, and Xanthos,³⁸¹ indeed looking for legitimacy and/or nobility in their claimed ancestry. The Iranian influence is really marked from the reign of Krupilli onward (485-440), as his coinage consistently bears an Iranian motif, e.g. a walking lion-griffon,³⁸² as well as the contemporary building of the Harpy tomb.

We discussed earlier how the Great Kings and their administrations did not intervene in purely Lycian internal matters as far as those did not affect the subjection to Achaemenid rule. We also saw that the latest dynasts of the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century are shown as good Persian aristocrats, mainly through the poems of Symmachos. As Pierre Briant puts it : « Arbinas est distinguée parmi tous en toute humaine science, tir à l’arc, valeur guerrière, expert aussi dans les arts équestres » ; this

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p.72.

³⁸⁰ BERNARD, Paul, 1965, « Remarques sur le décor sculpté d’un édifice de Xanthos », *Syria* 42, p.285.

³⁸¹ ROOSEVELT, Christopher H., 2012, “Iron Age Western Anatolia: The Lydian empire and dynastic Lycia” in POTTS, Daniel (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, Oxford, p.906 : from Herodotus (I.162-176), Harpagus suppressed several towns and populations in Ionia and Caria, but he only took Xanthos in Lycia which tends to suggest that Xanthos was the only place of importance, the seat of power in Lycia at the time.

³⁸² BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L’histoire de l’empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.520-1; SNG von Aulock 4139.

echoes Darius' royal virtues as a good fighter and horse rider.³⁸³ Symmachos, writing in Greek, underlines the prominence of the Persian aristocratic ways amongst the Xanthian dynasts, present in Lycia since the beginning of fifth century. In order to legitimise their power, they borrow their literary and iconographic themes from both the Iranians and the Greeks. The close links which the Lycian dynasts maintained with Persia down to the early fourth century are reflected in the satrap-like portraits appearing on many of the late fifth and early fourth century coin issues.³⁸⁴ Artumparra of Tlos, the last of the western Lycian dynasts (390-380s), seems to have continued his predecessors' close political affiliations with Persia.³⁸⁵

Imperial ideology was represented by a new symbolic language of personal ornamentation and the inclusion of symbols into funerary monuments to symbolize membership in and adherence to the elite of the Achaemenid Empire. Persian acculturation was thus really only significant for the higher levels of the Xanthian society. The top-to-bottom strategy of acculturation we observed in Sardis has a special relevance in Xanthos where the dynasts seem to have been the engine of that phenomenon. The Persian elements are most visible in what should be considered as elitist materials such as monumental tombs and epic poetry, ordered by and for dynasts. The Persians, due to the peculiar situation of Lycia, would not have had the occasion of having the same impact on the majority of the population they had elsewhere in Western Anatolia, even though they seem to have used the same techniques of interacting with local elites to get their point across. Once again on that issue the peculiar political status of Lycia compared with a place such as for example Sardis seem to have been a major factor in the evolution of local culture.

We have stated before that in the cases of Sardis, Daskyleion and other regional centres of Persian Anatolia, Greeks were incorporated into courts and the local elite and, therefore, part of the Persian imperial structure. But more importantly and more significantly in the case of Xanthos is the noteworthy widespread presence of Greek artists, architects, sculptors, stone-

³⁸³ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L'histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.626.

³⁸⁴ Uncertain: Hirsch Auction 205, lot 402; Kherei, in Pinara: SNG Copenhagen Suppl. 449; MØRKHOLM, Otto and ZAHLE, Jan, 1976, "The coinage of the Lycian Dynasts Kheriga, Kherêi and Erbbina, Numismatic and archaeological study", *Acta Archaeologica* 47, 39 and 43; VISMARA, Novella, 2001, "Monetazione arcaica della Lycia : prime rilevanze circa l'approvvigionamento metallic", *Revue des études anciennes* 103, 172 var.; Kherei in Xanthos: SNG Copenhagen Suppl. 455 ; SNG von Aulock 4176.

³⁸⁵ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1980, "The Other Pericles", *Historia* 29, p.381; Artumpara with tiara: BMC Lycia 111.

cutters and so forth.³⁸⁶ The incorporation of Greek archetypes must have come at first from the flowing of Greek imports mainly Attic ceramics.³⁸⁷

In Sardis, despite the heavy Persian presence and influence, sculptures show no eastern traits, the local style was rather greatly influenced by Greek models. This Hellenic influence remains throughout the entire Achaemenid period reflecting the relative proximity of sculptural schools in Ionia, the Cyclades, and Athens. These cultural affinities would have begun long before Cyrus' conquest. The sculptures of Sardis were affected by an exchange of ideas between artisans from different stylistic and iconographic traditions. The reliefs of Kybele's shrine in Sardis (540-530 BC) indicate direct familiarity with the adornment of monumental architecture in Mesopotamia and Persia and a translation of these ideas into a western Anatolian context. The sculptures of Achaemenid-period Sardis, like the architecture, are evidence that Sardis was a place where western and eastern influences met and merged with local concepts to produce a fusion of ideas, themes and styles.³⁸⁸

In the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BC, the Lycian dynasts indeed show themselves as subjects and imitators of the Great King but were nonetheless cultivated Greek speakers, undoubtedly from the Symmachos' references, knowing their Homeric literature well. In this the Alexandrian tradition of the Letoon, cited by Plutarch,³⁸⁹ is especially interesting, mixing Hellenism and *Iranism* in a pure synthesis between Greek oracular tradition and a particular Persian myth of sovereignty.³⁹⁰ These latter plus a touch of South-Western Anatolian cultural aspects produced a cultural mix that was originally and uniquely Lycian. Herrenschmidt has shown that the poem in honour of the dynast Arbinas was infiltrated by various Persian elements, even though it is written in Greek, to the point of asserting that "Xanthos fût la chambre d'écho de Persépolis". She states that it is a desire from Arbinas himself to confirm his subjection to the Great King, in drawing analogies

³⁸⁶ MAFFRE, Frédéric, 2007, "Indigenous Aristocracies in Hellespontine Phrygia" in TUPLIN, Christopher J. (ed), *Greeks and Persians: reactions and perceptions*, Swansea, p.126.

³⁸⁷ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, "Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérées au Létôon de Xanthos" in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.43 and n.39; BARRINGER, Judith, M., 1995, *Divine escorts : Nereids in archaic and classical Greek art*, Ann Harbor, p.59-66.

³⁸⁸ DUSINBERRE, Elspeth R.M., 2003, *Aspects of Empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge, p.110-2.

³⁸⁹ Plutarch 17.4 : Alexander would have visited the spring and received the omen of the destruction of the Persian empire in the form of a bronze tablet in the epichoric alphabet. The accuracy of the story is chronologically difficult to believe, even though not necessarily untrue and this could be the adaptation of an ancient Iranian myth about the terrestrial monarch receiving confirmation from the celestial supreme being with signs coming from the bottom of the waters (DUMEZIL, Georges, 1985, *L'oubli des hommes et l'honneur des dieux*, Paris, p. 238). Bousquet contests the iranocentric reading of this story, as well as Herrenschmidt's reading of Symmachos (BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, *Fouilles de Xanthos, IX. Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, Paris, p.181).

³⁹⁰ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.10-12.

between his manifestations of power over Lycia in comparison with the power of the Great King over the empire.³⁹¹ It is nevertheless written in Greek, with Greek literary elements. This is a constant in the last dynasts' symbolism to build a somewhat tri-partite cultural milieu, indigenous Lycian, Greek and Persian. The Inscribed Pillar, from an unknown poet, is also borrowing elements from the Persian tradition but also from the Greek one, without being straightforwardly mainly one of the two and should therefore be considered as one of those Xanthian multicultural artefacts.

We are right here in the discussion about Greco-Persian artefacts which have interested the academic world of late. The place of Lycia in those discussions is of significant importance. Christopher Tuplin says that Lycia produced some important Perso-Anatolian, or also called Perso-Hellenic artefacts (e.g. the Payava Sarcophagus, the Karaburun tomb or the frieze of Perikles' Limyran monument). But none if any of these appellations does it justice. They are far more complex and intricate than any such descriptions suggest. Despite this the continuing health of distinctively Lycian culture, the philhellenism of the Lycian dynasts and social elite and the absence of passive Hellenisation should be insisted on: "it was possible to pick and choose. The Persian authority served to empower Lycian identity because it empowered the Lycian elite...or perhaps the particular pattern of interaction between Hellenic and Lycian...served to keep Greek influence at arm's length."³⁹² The geographical isolation gave Lycian culture an unusually strong character. "In any event, it was not the Persians' business to interfere, and the material reflection of a Persian dimension in Lycian iconography will be just another example of Lycians picking and choosing."³⁹³ And Raimond adds in the same volume that the appearances of such buildings, texts, tombs and images is the evident materialistic and cultural transition between the Achaemenid and Hellenistic eras.³⁹⁴ Classical Xanthos was primarily a large town which showed, above all, indigenous features, such as unplanned ramparts, an isolated acropolis and tombs in the very centre of the town, all definitive Lycian unique traits, which progressively incorporated a few Greek features: an agora (though completely obliterated today) and the architecture of the Nereid monument in a Greek fashion (though it has some undoubtedly Lycian and

³⁹¹ HERRENSCHMIDT, Clarisse, 1985, « Une lecture iranisante du poème de Symmachos dédié a Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos », *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 87, p.125-133.

³⁹² TUPLIN, Christopher, 2007, "Introduction", in TUPLIN, Christopher ed., *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural interaction with(in) the Persian Empire*, Swansea, p.18.

³⁹³ Ibid.

³⁹⁴ RAIMOND, Eric, 2007, *Hellenisation and Lycian cults during the Achaemenid period* in TUPLIN, Christopher (ed), *Persian Responses: Political and Cultural interaction with(in) the Persian Empire*, Swansea, p.143-162.

Oriental details, especially iconographic (city siege reliefs, despite the similarity of the soldiers to hoplites, and court scenes)).³⁹⁵

The penetration of Hellenic aspects grows throughout the Classical period. The fifth century sees art and architecture incorporating Greek elements and the beginning of the fourth century is the period when, even under the rule of the last pro-Persian dynasts, Hellenism became increasingly prominent over Lycia, and in some measure over Xanthos.³⁹⁶ After the collapse of the satraps' rebellion (359 BC) in which Lycia had participated on the rebels' side under the rule of Perikles, the Persians re-established control, giving the authority of the region to the Hekatomnid satraps of Caria. This had little effect on the progressive, and seemingly ineluctable, Hellenisation of the region. The epichoric language declines progressively and is replaced by the Greek language. Then by the last quarter of the fourth century, the epichoric inscriptions disappear and Lycian has seemingly ceased to exist. This Hellenism is confirmed by the parallel intrusion and assimilation of Greek divinities into the Xanthian 'pantheon' (cf. ch.5).

Although it seems that the Athenians dominated Lycia for a few years in the middle of the fifth century, the Lycians never appear never really to have accepted Athenian rule.³⁹⁷ As the so-called Inscribed Pillar's chronicle recalls, the Lycians are glorifying themselves, decades later, of the victory against Melesandros' Athenians (*milassantra* in Lycian).³⁹⁸ Then we know that by the end of the fifth/ beginning of the fourth century, the Persian-Lycian association was resumed.³⁹⁹ Where the author of the inscription is an ally if not a vassal of the Ionian satrap Tissaphernes⁴⁰⁰ and was apparently in close contact with Darius II and Artaxerxes II.⁴⁰¹ This example of resistance should not shadow the fact that the Lycians were living through a period of intense Hellenisation, Athenian domination or not, though

³⁹⁵ COUPEL, Pierre and DEMARGNE, Pierre, 1969, *Fouilles de Xanthos III: Le monument des Néréides, l'architecture*, Klincksieck, Paris; CHILDS, William A.P. and DEMARGNE, Pierre, 1989, *Fouilles de Xanthos VIII: Le monument des Néréides, le décor sculpté*, Paris; DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Laurence, 2001, "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times" in PARRISH, D. (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 45, p.155.

³⁹⁶ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "Political Unity in Lycia during the "Dynastic" Period", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.8.

³⁹⁷ Diodorus 11.60.4 : Cimon secured the allegiance of Lycia 'by persuasion' (πείσας προσελάβετο) ; it appears only on two subscription lists of the League of Delos: 451/0 and 446/5 BC.

³⁹⁸ TL 44, South face, 44-45; KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.125-135; CHILDS, William A.P., 1979, "The Authorship of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos", *Anatolian Studies* 29, p. 97-102; LE ROY, Christian, 2004, "Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie", *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.8.

³⁹⁹ TL 44.

⁴⁰⁰ TL 44c, I, 11-12,14,15.

⁴⁰¹ CHILDS, William A.P., 1981, "Lycian relationship with Persians and Greeks in the Fourth and Fifth centuries re-examined", *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.64-66; TL 44b, 59-60.

many of what Le Roy calls the “*marqueurs de mémoires*”⁴⁰² send back to Iranian influences or elements of the primordial civilizations of South-Western Anatolia.⁴⁰³ But they also incorporate more and more Greek elements.

One of the main factors for the adoption of Greek cultural aspect must have been the language. It is during the fifth century that the Greek language starts expanding in Xanthos.⁴⁰⁴ The first Greek characters known to us are on a graffito on the foot of an attic cup dated from circa. 480, at a time when ceramic imports from Attica are progressively replacing those of Cycladic and Aegean origin.⁴⁰⁵ Then around the transition between the fifth and the fourth centuries, official inscriptions in Greek appear, such as the grand stela of Xanthos,⁴⁰⁶ the poem for Arbinnas on the pedestal of the statue of Arbinnas in the Letoon,⁴⁰⁷ and the famous Trilingual Inscription.⁴⁰⁸

Though, within this phenomena, we can see a growing disparity between the west and east within which the west is much more attached to its Persian allegiance than the east, which under (the Greek-named) Perikles, overthrew the last Xanthian/ Telmessian dynast Artumparra in 380 (TL 104b) and drove Lycia into the satraps' revolt in 367/6-359 BC which results in the loss of the Lycian *de facto* autonomy.⁴⁰⁹ So, at least politically Xanthos had been averse to the growing political pressure of the Greeks over the South-East coast of Anatolia in the midst of the fifth and fourth centuries. Therefore the conquest of western Lycia by Perikles certainly brings a period of closer ties with the Greek world as shown through the numismatic evidenc.⁴¹⁰ The coinage then follows the canons of Greek iconography and the widespread Greek weight standards (Athenian).⁴¹¹ The figures in western Lycia show heavy Greek influence on the nomenclature from the beginning of the fourth century: the political influence of the region would have attracted Greek craftsmen and artisans in the turmoil of the fourth century in this region more than any other,

⁴⁰² LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.10.

⁴⁰³ Cf. the acts of the symposium GIORGIERI, M., SALVINI, M., TREMOUILLE, M.-C., VANNICELLI, P. (ed), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione, Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma 11-12 ottobre 1999 (Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà dell'Egeo e del Vicino Oriente, Monografie scientifiche, serie scienze umane e sociali)*, Roma : the academic trend is to see the Anatolian South-west as an autonomous linguistic entity.

⁴⁰⁴ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la découverte du monde Lycien et perspectives nouvelles offertes à l'étude des périodes pré-hellénistiques en Lycie », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.17.

⁴⁰⁵ METZGER, Henri, 1972, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV: Les Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'Acropole lycienne*, p.366 sq. n.486.

⁴⁰⁶ TL 44-45.

⁴⁰⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.24.

⁴⁰⁸ METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.32 sq. ; cf. below

⁴⁰⁹ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1990, “Hellenism in Lycia”, in DESCOUDRES, Jean-Paul (ed), *Greek colonists and native populations, 1st congress of Classical Archaeology in honour of A.D.Trendall, Proceedings of the First Australian Congress of Classical Archaeology, Sydney 9 - 14 July 1985*, Canberra, p.531.

⁴¹⁰ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1980, “The Other Pericles” , *Historia* 29, p.377-381.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, p.377.

gravitating around the dynastic centre. The coins undoubtedly show some Greek influence but their legends remain in the Lycian language and alphabet.⁴¹²

The Lycian inscriptions on the Inscribed Pillar (beginning of the fourth century BC) talk about the operations in Lycia and south-western Asia Minor during the Ionian war, and the participation of the local dynast (Gergis/Kheriga, son of Harpagus). The local dynast probably helped Tissaphernes, with *trieres* among other things, in his fight against the Persian felon Amorges in 412, then a refugee in Iasos. The presence of Tissaphernes in Lycia is attested by a coin with his name and the indigenous name of Xanthos (*Arnna*) on it.⁴¹³ Although not everybody agrees that the portrait on the coin is Tissaphernes', this would mean a tighter Persian control of the region over the dynast himself. The ambiguity of the Lycian documentation is omnipresent. The available documentation (the coinage as well as the Symmachos' poem) witnesses an obvious and growing Greek cultural influence at the Xanthos court.

This development of a new imperial artistic style was a complex process of interaction, reaction, reception, adaptation, and creation. Acculturation is not merely the taking of a few external attributes but rather the production of a new culture by a genuine exchange of themes and ideas. To legitimize their power, the Xanthian dynasts borrow their literary and iconographic themes from both the Iranians and the Greeks. The Symmachos poems, which are epic documents, do not account well for the weights of both Persia and Greece on Lycia, though the narrative documents (Inscribed Pillar, Thucydides) suggest that in case of foreign aggression Lycia was included into the imperial system, and yet, eventually taking advantage in order to gain from it.⁴¹⁴

The iconography seems to follow this gradual impregnation of Hellenism, perhaps due to the massive entrance of Attic ceramic goods, though the architecture seems to have 'resisted' to a much greater extent.⁴¹⁵ The production of what is called "Greco-Persian" materials for convenience is the result of the subtle merging of Persian and Greek symbols with the local culture. The Persian impact on the Xanthian production of buildings and images in the classical period is not as limited as one would potentially expect knowing the unique political state of Lycia at the time. Nevertheless the Persian symbols seem to have flown into Xanthos through the dynasts and probably their court. The Greek influence would have been

⁴¹² HANSEN, Mogens H., 2002, "Introduction", in HANSEN, Mogens H. (ed), *A comparative study of six city-states cultures, An Investigation Conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre*, Historisk-filosofiske Skrifter 27, The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Copenhagen, p.10.

⁴¹³ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "Political Unity in Lycia during the "Dynastic" Period", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.36, nn.42-45.

⁴¹⁴ BRIANT, Pierre, 1996, *L'histoire de l'empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris, p.626-7.

⁴¹⁵ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la découverte du monde Lycien et perspectives nouvelles offertes à l'étude des périodes pré-hellénistiques en Lycie », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.18.

more sluggish in penetrating the Xanthian society but seems to have influenced many more strata and aspects of this society, even to the point of influencing the most sacred, the temples of the Letoon and therefore the cults and religion of the Xanthian population.

iii-The Greek idea of Lycia and the Lycian perception of Greek culture:

It seems so far that the Persian influence on Xanthian society is somewhat limited to a sphere we are calling the elite but which include the administration as well as religious and civil leaders. This is arguably due to the lack of contradicting materials. What we are trying to evaluate here, is the extent to which the ties with the Greek world are a profound phenomenon, taking place slowly on a long time scale, influencing the Xanthian culture and way of life to a much deeper level than the Persian political domination. This in turn is a reciprocal process. Xanthian perception of Greek culture evolves while the Greeks are starting to notice Lycia and Xanthos as a part of the collective Aegean history. Preceding the fourth century, Lycia had already growing ties with the Greek world, and the cultural influence of Hellenic sphere is early on, ever-present. Prior to the second half of the sixth century, there is no certain proof that Lycia had important contacts with the outside world. It is only at the end of the sixth century that, in addition to the Persian invasion, the contacts seem to be increasing with the Greek world, according to the fast growing imports of Attic pottery.⁴¹⁶

The cultural impact resonated in every aspect of Lycian society and Xanthos was no different. We have seen how Greek names occur more and more and how inscriptions in Greek alone or with another language multiply. In the fourth century the divinities in the Letoon start being referred by their Greek syncretic names in Greek texts at the same time that Greek inscriptions appear. Therefore in a more and more Hellenized environment the reference to a Greek legendary past becomes a constant factor.

During the classical times the Lycians were considered, mainly because of the *Iliad*, as a nation of venerable mythological credentials, one of the main and primary conditions for a respectable Greek pedigree. In the classical times, it was a point of contact between east and west. This way they were for Greek and Roman writers amongst the commonalities of classical culture versus barbarism which excluded Asia. They were connected to Gods, heroes, Greek mythology and beliefs. Sarpedon and Glaukos, the Lycian Homeric heroes,

⁴¹⁶ METZGER, Henri, *Fouilles de Xanthos IV: Les Céramiques archaïques et classiques de l'Acropole lycienne*, p.366 sq. n.486; METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*; METZGER, Henri, « Etapes de la découverte du monde Lycien et perspectives nouvelles offertes à l'étude des périodes pré-hellénistiques en Lycie », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.18.

are firmly related to Greek mythology, through helping the Trojans. Glaukos even has direct Greek lineage through his grandfather Bellerophon. More than legends, historic Lycia, like the Ionian cities, seriously resisted the Persian general Harpagus, putting them into the private club of the resistance against the Persian hegemony. As we said before, Lycian cities were also included for a few years within the Athenian League in the fifth century.⁴¹⁷ Indeed a “constellation of geographical and political factors led to the absorption of Greek influence considerably earlier than the Macedonian take-over”.⁴¹⁸ Lycia seems to have been urbanized at a relatively early period, with civic institutions though not really comparable to Greek ones. In the early fourth century, their inclusion into the philhellenic Hekatomnids’ rule brought even more emphasis on Greek as the language of administration and cultural prestige. Lycia had in fact ties with Rhodes from a very early date, Rhodian colonies were settled in eastern Lycia and the alphabet of the epichoric language is largely inspired by the Rhodians. Lycians until the time of Claudius made careful use of their ties with the main power of the day to guarantee their relative independence, the teaching of a wise and prudent foreign policy learned under Persian rule. As we stated before in the introduction and further subsequently in previous chapters, like the other people of South-western Anatolia, the Lycians were descended from the Hittite-Luwian speakers for which we have sources (hieroglyphic and cuneiform) dating back to at least the 17th to 13th century Lycian was therefore one of the many forms (with Cilician, Carian,...) of the late Luwian language. From this remains an important onomastic heritage, witnessing not only a linguistic but also a profound cultural profound inheritance (for which Trokondas is a Hellenised form of Tarhunt, the Luwian main male divinity, *trqnt-* in Lycian).⁴¹⁹ Even after the disappearance of Lycian in inscriptions at the end of the fourth century, it must have been used as a spoken language in certain sections of society and in non-coastal areas. The Greek used in Lycia in Hellenistic times is the usual Anatolian *koine* and bears no parallel to the extraordinary Greek found in Phrygia.⁴²⁰ Adoption of the Greek language was a necessary part of social, political and economic survival in the eastern Mediterranean, but does not shed a full light on the ‘Hellenisation’ or attitude towards it. There is no evidence for a driven desire to adopt the new language from the Lycian people.

The keeping of Hellenised forms of local names (such as *Natrbiiyemmi* becoming Apollodotos) is not necessarily a proactive social and cultural statement since the tentacles

⁴¹⁷ Cf. Ch.III.i; Diodorus 11.60.4.

⁴¹⁸ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen, *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.45.

⁴¹⁹ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.177.

⁴²⁰ BRIXHE, Claude, 2010, “Linguistic Diversity in Asia Minor during the Empire: *Koine* and Non-Greek Languages” in BAKKER, Egbert J. (ed), *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, Oxford, p.245-7.

of Greek mythology extend well beyond the Greek homeland and the Hellenistic period further marked a clear extension of mythological ties between Greek legends and people in the east. A name with associations with local beliefs and Greek mythology was an intermediate state between keeping a local lingua name and adopting a Greek name. Therefore the rate of utilization of Greek names is no proof of willingly accepted Hellenisation. It is more in the social patterns of naming that top-down native elite brought a pattern of naming that incorporated a rather Hellenised Anatolian way of naming. The Greek and Lycian names (like their Anatolian counterparts) have the same norms, by opposition with Latin and Etruscan for example, which might be the inheritance of common Indo-European nomenclature, with no clan or family names, but rather an only name with specification of a parent (usually the father) or distinguished relative, except for occasional instances of double names.⁴²¹

The Greek look-alike characters of the Lycian language were certainly adopted sometimes in the late sixth century, ever growing contacts with Greek merchants, and so despite the Persian domination.⁴²² This usage of near-hellenic characters is indeed a testimony of early and crucial contacts with the Greek world. Indeed Bryce⁴²³ thinks that the Rhodian trade colonisation of the Xanthos valley may have started in the seventh century in Patara, where they would have introduced the image of Apollo in a local oracular sanctuary.

How and by whom Lycia was populated is a rather complex matter. The Lycians called themselves in their fifth and fourth century epichoric inscriptions as *Trmmili* and their country as *Trmmisa*.⁴²⁴ Herodotus (I.147) and Strabo (XII.8.5) says the *Termilae* were originally Cretans following Sarpedon's flight from Crete. Arguably there was a Cretan element in the *Termilae*, but the name is Anatolian. Indeed etymologically the word *Termilae* could originate from a Luwian word for mountainous people.⁴²⁵ The link with the *Termilae* is not limited to the Xanthos valley and western Lycia but we can cite the names of Lycian Termessos Minor near Oinoanda and Termessos in Pisidia, as well as in the south-west corner of Caria a number of names also recalling the name of *Termilae*, namely Carian Telmessos, Termera, Termerion, Termeros and *Termilae* ; perhaps those *Termilae* were linked with the Cretans (Minoans) of Herodotus' tradition, Cretans traders would have

⁴²¹ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.44-7.

⁴²² Cf. HOUWINK TEN CATE, Philo H. J., 1965, "Short notes on Lycian grammar", *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* XXIII, p.17-24.

⁴²³ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.41.

⁴²⁴ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "Political Unity in Lycia during the "Dynastic" Period", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.5.

⁴²⁵ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.30; LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1976, "Lyciens et Termiles", *Revue Archéologique*, p.15-19.

settled around western Lycia and southern Caria and were called *Termilae* by the *Lukka* emigrants, because of the peculiar geography of Lycia.⁴²⁶ Indeed, according to Bryce⁴²⁷ despite the truthful certitude, and variety of legends from Greek authors, that the name of Lycia was originally Greek, it seems rather probable that the name of Lycia was a derivative from the *Lukka* population who would have colonised the Xanthos valley sometime at the end of the second millennium and beginning of the first.

Those *Lukka* communities coming from the region of Miletus (*Milawata/Milawanda* in the Bronze Age) were probably providing most of the substrate and were responsible for most of the retention of many of Luwian elements in the Lycian civilization.⁴²⁸ The Lycian language on epichoric inscriptions as well as numismatic legends and graffiti on pottery shreds is directly descending from the Luwian language. Also the names of divinities are very much Luwian.⁴²⁹ The *Lukka* people are connected with the Xanthos valley and especially Xanthos and Tlos by their Luwian names *Arinna/Arinna* and *Tlawa/Dalawa*. Moreover, the specific associations between the Homeric heroes of Lycia and the cities of Tlos and Xanthos, suggests that sometime after the Bronze Age, probably at the end of the eighth century, some *Lukka* settlers colonized the Xanthos valley, and Homeric tradition relates to the *Lukka* in their homeland, around Miletus/*Milawanda* and in western Caria in general, suggesting that the important Luwian immigration we talked about earlier (cf. Introduction) was known in Homer's time. This emigration was probably due to the *Lukka* people seafaring, some of them might have found a perfect settlement spot in the almost empty Xanthos valley.⁴³⁰ One more argument for the Luwian origin of the name of Lycia and its colonization by a Luwian population is another foundation myth, that of Bellerophon and Pegasus, well-known to Homer,⁴³¹ perhaps of Luwian origin.⁴³² When and how this mythography and mythology

⁴²⁶ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.31.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., p.30-1.

⁴²⁸ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "Political Unity in Lycia during the "Dynastic" Period", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 42, p.5.

⁴²⁹ BRYCE, Trevor, 1981, "Disciplinary agents in the Sepulchral Inscriptions of Lycia", *Anatolian Studies* 31, p.81-93.

⁴³⁰ BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources, Vol. I of The Lycians*, Copenhagen, p.26-28.

⁴³¹ Homer, *Iliad* VI.212 ss.

⁴³² CARLIER, Pierre, 2000, "Les Marques écrites chez Homère" in PERNA, Massimo (ed), *Administrative Documents in the Aegean and their Near Eastern Counterparts*, Naples, p.309-314; BORKER-KLAHN, Jutta, 2003, "Tumulus B von Bayindir bei Elmali" in GIORGIERI, Mauro (ed), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione, atti del convegno internazionale, Roma, 11-12 ottobre 1999*, Rome, p.72: Pegasus name might come from the Luwian « thunder », and could mean « the one who holds thunder(bolt) ».

reached Greece and Lycia is unknown but by the classical period, the Lycians had fully integrated it into the funerary iconography as well as in the civic institutions.⁴³³

Even in classical times the Lycians were considered, mainly because of the *Iliad*, as a nation of venerable mythological credentials, one of the main and primary conditions of a respectable Greek pedigree. In classical times, it was a point of contact between east and west, the classical world and the barbarian one. This way they were depicted by Greek and Roman writers, amongst the commonalities of classical culture versus barbarism, the latter excluding Asia. They were connected to Gods, heroes and the people of Greece proper. Sarpedon and Glaukos are firmly related to Greek mythology, through helping Trojans. Glaukos even has direct Greek lineage through his grandfather Bellerophon. More than legends, historic Lycia, like the Ionian cities, seriously resisted the Persian general Harpagus. Lycian cities were also included for a few years within the Athenian League. Indeed a “constellation of geographical and political factors led to the absorption of Greek influence considerably earlier than the Macedonian take-over”.⁴³⁴ Lycia seems to have been urbanized at a relatively early period, with civic institutions amenable to Greek ones. In the early fourth century, their inclusion into the philhellene Hekatomnid rule brought even more emphasis on Greek as the main language of the administrative and economic elite at a moment when Greek was already previously widely used by some sections of the Lycian society.

So we can say that the absorption of Greek cultural features into the Xanthian world was indeed more progressive but also stronger than the Persian incorporation of cultural elements which remained almost restricted to symbolic elements of power and authority. The Lycian positive attitude towards Greek culture is very much anchored in the essentials of Xanthian society by the time of the Macedonian invasion. The Greek soft-power of regional cultural attraction as well as the brief Athenian occupation created a region more and more prone to adopting Greek cultural elements into their culture, architecture, art and ultimately religion. The Greek idea of Lycia is also something which grows in importance with time. As there are more and more contacts between Lycia and the Greek era of influence, the ‘historic’

⁴³³ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, “Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie”, *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.8 ; for a rupestre tomb in Tlos cf. BEAN, Georges E., 1978, *Lycian Turkey, an archaeological guide*, London, p.67-68 ; another confirmation of this is given by the bilingual inscription in honour of Arbinas, dynast of Xanthos in the Letoon, which is shown by Bousquet to be a real compilations of Homeric quotes and verses, a real cultural choice in itself : BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, *Les inscriptions du Letoon en l'honneur d'Arbinas et l'épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos* in LEMAIRE, A. (ed), *Fouilles de Xanthos, IX, La Région Nord du Létôn ; Les Sculptures; Les Inscriptions gréco-lyciennes*, Paris, p. 163-5.

⁴³⁴ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, “Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia” in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.45.

Iliadic past of Lycia tends to take on more significance for the Greeks as well as for the Lycians and Xanthians.

The successive developments of the sanctuary are especially telling in that context of acculturation. It is the most sacred site for the people of Xanthos and to the people of Lycia as a whole. Any change to these religious monuments reveals much about the idea the Lycians have of themselves and about the foreign influences which are making themselves felt on the national psyche.

iv-The Letoon, the successive developments and adjustments of the sanctuary:

During the 250 years of Persian domination, the Letoon received numerous developments and expansions. In the beginning of the sixth century, the sanctuary, while certainly already renowned regionally, had yet to break out of its native basic look. In this section we will try to expose the different steps in which the sanctuary was developed and more importantly which artistic, political and architectural influences drove the patterns of development of the sacred structure.

We have previously stated that the first traces of settlement on the Letoon are as ancient as the oldest layers on the acropolis of Xanthos acropolis (the oldest remains are mostly made of ceramics) and could be dated back to the beginning of the seventh century. In fact, the oldest piece found in the Letoon could either be interpreted as a trace of a private property or as an *ex-voto*. Whatever it was, it seems that early on the extent of the settlement was as wide as for the classical sanctuary. One of the *ex-votos* found in the spring, south of the rock terrace, is of a late archaic style, probably from the sixth century, and south-west of the water-point, a cumulus of archaic figurines was found.⁴³⁵ It was very early on a venerated area, of which the spring constituted the very first focal point of attention from worshippers (cf. fig. 11 for the map of the site of the Letoon).

The very beginning of the occupation is difficult to date precisely because extensive digging is technically complex, though the evidence so far places the settlement around the seventh/sixth century BC. The presence in the stratum of the end of the archaic period of burnt animals bones (hence of probable ritual sacrifices) indicates that the space was

⁴³⁵ Cf. Ch.I-ii in this volume; LE ROY, Christian, 1991, "Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-342; METZGER, Henri and BOURGAREL, André, 1992, "Le région nord du Létôon" in *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*; METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, p.77-80; KEEN, Antony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with foreign powers, c. 545-362 BC*, Leiden, p.195.

occupied and already sacred from the earliest period of settlement onwards.⁴³⁶ The addition of those bones remains and of the apparent *ex-voto* in the spring seems to indicate that some form of cult was established around the seventh century BC, though it is difficult to know if the space had been sacred before that and whether or not any kind of organized ritual was practised there. According to the parallel diggings of the city of Xanthos, the town was settled around the same period, and the two sites are, as far as we know, the oldest proofs of settlement in the whole of Lycia.

It somewhat seems that the first Luwian settlers brought with themselves a sedentary type of civilization to Xanthos. We, moreover, cannot exclude that there was already some form of cult ritual prior to these settlers in the Letoon. At least these colonists laid out a place of worship in a place that already bore a certain significance to locals as they did not hesitate to put it 4km away from the city. It seems hard to believe that they would have venerated a place so distant from the site of the town that later became Xanthos. The presence of the spring was indubitably the main focus of the cult in the proto-Letoon as the presence of the *ex-votos* and the traces of sacrifices not far seems to indicate. The divinity of the Mother-Goddess with its *Eliyanna* or Nymphs at her side was undoubtedly introduced by those Luwian *Lukka* people who were certainly different from the original *Termilae*, and if a cult was there in the subsequently called Letoon the indigenous cult(s) was(ere) amalgamated and assimilated into the new form of religion brought by the newcomers.

It is apparently only under the Persian occupation that the sanctuary known as the Letoon acquired a structured, well-built and of monumental aspect.⁴³⁷ The buildings of Xanthos and the Letoon of the sixth century do not immediately reflect the Persian influence, and remain rather Lycian/Anatolian in style for a while. It is only from the last quarter of the fourth century that the Persian influence penetrates, and it culminates at the time of Arbinas with the adoption of Persian artistic, iconographic and architectural elements. In Xanthos the paleo-Christians have ruined most of the buildings of that time. But as we mentioned to the north of the Letoon, stands a structure which reminds us of the structures of the Achaemenid palaces and administrative buildings was excavated,⁴³⁸ as opposed to the Classical temples, built during the reign of Arbinas, which had typically Lycian bases, mainly built with a wooden structure. These seemingly administrative buildings were built in a seemingly different fashion, with no apparent intent to respect the indigenous traditions. The Persian authorities were showing real sensitivity towards local cults at that time, refraining from enforcing a more Persian look upon newly temples to local divinities and probably not

⁴³⁶ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, "Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos", *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, pp.619-620.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p.620.

⁴³⁸ Ibid., p.616.

insisting too much on the types of new buildings for religious matters. Still, for administrative buildings, even those within the Letoon, the respect for local traditions was not as strong as for the purely religious buildings.⁴³⁹ Here we see the intent of the Persian administration not to disrupt national identity, but just to taint it with imperial efficiency and above all rationalise financially everything in their new provinces.

The end of the Classical period is a time of upheaval and rapid change in Lycia. At the beginning of the fourth century the *extra-muros* Letoon is gaining in importance and under the impetus of Arbinas, following his military achievements in establishing his rule over western Lycia, is covered with religious buildings and monuments.⁴⁴⁰ Moreover, the dynastic times *intra-muros* temples are progressively abandoned to be totally neglected by Hellenistic times.⁴⁴¹

As we said before, the oldest traces of settlement on the Letoon are ceramics from the beginning of the seventh century, and perhaps the end of the eighth century. These were probably of a religious nature. The nature of the divinity(ies) worshipped there at that time is not yet known. Nowadays, the spring is still here, but lacks the ancient buildings which used to canalise and contain the waters from overflowing. The sanctuary was constructed against the hill in the north-east, but rested on a squishy and muddy soil, making it important to fill the basement when restoring or rebuilding all or parts of the Letoon.⁴⁴² Xanthos itself had, in archaic times, a building made up of three rooms probably used for religious functions on the Lycian acropolis,⁴⁴³ and close to it an important temple perhaps for a local Artemis.⁴⁴⁴ Even in the Classical period, Xanthos did not seem to have important religious installation *intra-muros*, though it was the political centre for at least the Xanthos valley. It is also significant that very few temples have been found in Lycia, and that none predated the

⁴³⁹ METZGER, Henri, 1987, « Etapes de la decouverte du monde Lycien », *Revue des études anciennes* 89, p.15-16.

⁴⁴⁰ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôn de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique* 1991, p.345.

⁴⁴¹ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Jacques, 2001, "The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times", in PARRISH, David (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor : new studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement 45, p.170.

⁴⁴² DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « Portiques du Létôn de Xanthos », *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.616.

⁴⁴³ METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, p.29-36: second half of the sixth century BC building seems to have succeeded to and respected the basic shape of a primitive installation.

⁴⁴⁴ METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, Institut français d'archéologie, Istanbul, p.40-42 (fifth century BC, after 470 ?), a small hellenistic altar dedicated to Artemis Ephesia by Ptolemy Epiphanes was found just next to it, TAM II, 1, 263 (not in situ): building of a temple of Artemis in the same time that the altar and of a agalma by the hegemon who is a certain *Aitolos*, but he has a Xanthian mother: TAM II 1, 264 and 267-9.

Hellenistic period except for of the Letoon.⁴⁴⁵ We could assume that the pattern for Xanthos and its rural sanctuary, placed on a significant natural point, was the usual Lycian pattern. Those abounded in Hittite and Luwian Anatolia, especially on the southern part of the Anatolian plateau, in particular in Cilicia and Pamphylia, and of course Lycia.

In the beginning of the fourth century, the sanctuary experienced its first major monumental upheaval. On this occasion the sanctuary received its own administrative buildings, built on Persian architectural patterns, in the North, behind the newly built temples,⁴⁴⁶ proving that the sanctuary had some autonomy already at this time. This was probably a direct result of Arbinas' will to give the sanctuary a status of its own, perhaps depending from the dynast itself rather than the city of Xanthos unlike what we see during the Hellenistic period. In doing so the Letoon was the religious centre of his dominion. The Letoon shows a brand new face: vast ameliorations, during which the *temenos* is closed, perhaps extended, the spring is now central to the sanctuary and all the buildings are directed towards it, the administrative buildings are embellished and rationalized. The whole sanctuary is encircled by a larger *peribolos* with very few openings, though this latter could be from as late as the Ptolemaic period.⁴⁴⁷ The sanctuary seems to have gained its regional clout at this time, under Arbinas' reign, seemingly very much due to the dynast's religious voluntarism. Arbinas, as his direct predecessors was also the dynast of Pinara, Tlos and Telmessos, whilst the Xanthos valley was indeed the bulk of his empire. Arbinas himself was, during his relatives' reigns, in charge in Telmessos as their delegate. Arbinas' religious doctrine was the kickoff for a long era of large regional influence and predominance of the Letoon. This is also the moment when the Greek triad is integrated within the Lycian pantheon, and most especially within the Letoon. The unity of the cities of the Xanthos' valley was indeed forged by their religious unity around the Letoon more than around the political dominance of Xanthos. The sanctuary already was in the previous period preeminent over the Xanthos valley's religious sphere, the 'mothers of these precincts', as the main local divinities were called in the sixth and fifth centuries native inscriptions were certainly, in Lycian consciences subject, to the greatest *eni mahanahi* (mother of the Letoon. Arbinas strengthened the sense of a nation by centralising and modernising the common religious practices. In this the modernization and perhaps the apparent Hellenisation of the sanctuary played a major role.

⁴⁴⁵ FREZOULS, Edmond, 1993, « Les cultes de la Lycie occidentale », in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, ETAM 17, p.204.

⁴⁴⁶ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos », *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.620.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., p.622.

This certainly means that the Leto-Apollo-Artemis triad was formed,⁴⁴⁸ and was firmly settled within the Letoon by the middle of the fourth century when the Trilingual Inscription was inscribed. We ought to further discuss how the local cults were transformed into the Greek Letoan triad. For the moment we shall just concentrate on how the Letoon gained importance, and how finally the Letoon became, in Hellenistic times, the great Lycian federation's symbolic and religious centre.

v-The new role of the Letoon, a Lycian symbolic regional centre

The other major event for the Letoon is the development of the Lycian League and the establishment of the Letoon as its federal sanctuary at the threshold of the second century, a new status, which certainly drained much wealth and pilgrims, as well as considerable prestige for the city of Xanthos itself. However, as we said, it was probably partially eclipsed by the success of its own sanctuary.⁴⁴⁹

The newly liberated city of Xanthos and Lycian *koinon* decided to give a more Hellenic character to their sanctuary, which already contained cults of largely Hellenised divinities. The fourth century aspects of the temples might have shocked the Letoan, Artemisian or Apollinian pilgrim. The Lycian economic situation being in a complete renaissance in the years post-167 BC, we can assume that the construction of the three temples was decided concurrently, as part of a voluntary policy of renewing the entire sanctuary, though the immensity of the task was spread over the second century. The temple of Leto might be dated back to the years 175-150 while the temples of Apollo and Artemis would rather date back from the 150-100 period.

In a rather unusual fashion, the new temples are not only built on the former temples' substructures, but are also incorporating large features, if not the entirety, of their fourth century predecessors.⁴⁵⁰ Those were kept not intact but at least visible and recognizable by visitors, to the point that the Hellenistic temple is simply a somewhat jewel case in which the former cultual installation is preserved. Indeed as Christian Le Roy puts it: « La spécificité lycienne, en l'espèce, telle qu'on peut la découvrir au Létôon près de Xanthos, est d'avoir réussi à rendre sensible à la piété des pèlerins, et aussi à celle, un peu différente, des

⁴⁴⁸ METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.24: statue base for Leto (first apparition of the goddess) by Arbinas: poem of Symmachos, erected in the honour of Leto (slightly before 375 BC); BRYCE, Trevor R., 1983, "The Arrival of the Goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia*, p.9.

⁴⁴⁹ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.346.

⁴⁵⁰ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, "Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C." in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond ed., *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.213-224.

archéologues, la mémoire cultuelle du passe pré-grec au sein même d'un lieu de culte hellénisé. Aux époques archaïque et classique, le sanctuaire est celui des dynastes de Xanthos. Il devient, à l'époque hellénistique, le sanctuaire fédéral du koinon des cités lyciennes. Les divinités originelles, appartenant au panthéon hittite et louvite, cèdent la place aux dieux grecs, ce qui est banal. Ce qui l'est moins, c'est que cette assimilation s'opère non en éliminant mais en conservant aux divinités anciennes toute leur visibilité.»⁴⁵¹

The first basis of a chapel subsists within the temple of Leto. Didier Laroche during the 1997 campaign suggested that it was the whole temple which was conserved inside the new temple. The paving of the first temple of Leto was probably reused in the Hellenistic temple and so we could presume that the Lycian temple of Leto was included within the Hellenistic Ionic temple, and so piously conserved.⁴⁵²

In the *cella* of the temple of Apollo lies the soft-stoned basis of the first temple from which the wooden or brick superstructure has disappeared, the location of the Hellenistic *pronaos* contained a mosaic from the third century BC picturing a lyre and a bow with its quiver (cf. fig. 12).⁴⁵³ In both cases, it doesn't seem like the superstructure has been kept within the Hellenistic temple. The comparison is difficult for the Artemis temple as not much remains from the first temple, though it presents a rather peculiar originality. The Hellenistic *cella* is entirely filled with a resurgence of the natural rock, hewed vertically on the long sides, the back and the top, in the shape of a pedestal for a symbol or statue of which nothing has survived.⁴⁵⁴ Therefore the *cella* is a fully occupied volume, inaccessible and as far as I know no similar installation is yet known in the Greek world.

The conservatism in the appearance of the cult-spaces, the material stability, in which the cults are performed, is the condition for the assembly of believers to keep track and to keep alive the memories of a common identity. The monuments of the Letoon, and especially the temples and the spring, are in fact the proof of this, to give to their past all the weight in deserves, to give the sense of belonging to community with a specific past and beliefs.⁴⁵⁵

The second century also sees the second major monumental upheaval for the sanctuary : the temples are rebuilt in an entirely, more monumental, Greek fashion and porticos are built in the periphery of the sacred place to shelter the pilgrims. Now, an east-west alleyway is

⁴⁵¹ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.12.

⁴⁵² DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, "Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C." in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond ed., *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, p.218; LAROCHE, Didier, 2007, "La reconstruction du temple de Létô au Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue Archéologique*, p.169-174.

⁴⁵³ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.348.

⁴⁵⁴ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.14.

⁴⁵⁵ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-351.

separating the spring from the temple's terrace, still conserving the impression of symbolic importance of the spring in the sacred space.⁴⁵⁶ Through the architecture linking the earth, the cave and the water, we can see the growing taste for a controlled, domesticated and mastered nature during the Hellenistic period, something which might appear odd in the previous native Lycian context.⁴⁵⁷

The inexorable decline of Xanthos initiated in the fourth century becomes strikingly apparent in the Hellenistic period. Although at the same time the Letoon sees greater attendance and interest from the Lycians but also from populations outside Lycia. The major event of differentiation between the sanctuary and its tutelary city is the creation of the Lycian *koinon* which made the Letoon its federal sanctuary. The creation date of this *koinon* is only approximately known (circa 200 BC)⁴⁵⁸, though we know that it was already a time of relative decline for Xanthos, which no longer was the most important city of western Lycia anymore, let alone of the entire Lycia. The *koinon* probably existed by the time of the Rhodian rule, but it subsequently became completely effective with Roman benediction, and becomes quite successful for more than a century. The Letoon which had previously been a factor of unity between the cities of the Xanthos valley assumed the same role on a wide Lycian scale thereafter.

The findings of several inscriptions of decrees and treaties between cities of the League in the Letoon are significant. This includes a border settlement from the second century between Tlos and Termessos minor (the latter is not part of the League) found in the sanctuary, whose presence marks the political importance of the sanctuary as the symbolic centre of the League and the site for the exhibition of the League's decisions.⁴⁵⁹ As Jeanne and Louis Robert say "c'est la confédération qui règle, par arbitrage, les différents territoriaux entre les cités",⁴⁶⁰ and the Letoon is the collective site of the League, where a third copy of the text has to be erected (the fourth potentially being in Kaunos?). In Telmessos, a decree is mentioning that one copy should be erected "in the temple of Apollo,

⁴⁵⁶ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, "Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos", *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.620.

⁴⁵⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.14 ; LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.348.

⁴⁵⁸ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108.

⁴⁵⁹ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999) ", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.109; LE ROY, Christian, 1996, "Une Convention entre cités de Lycie du nord", *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, p.961-980.

⁴⁶⁰ ROBERT, Jeanne and Louis, 1950, "Bulletin Epigraphique", *Revue des études grecques* 63, n.183, p.196.

Artemis and Leto”,⁴⁶¹ which could very well be the Letoon of Xanthos, while it should not be excluded that a temple of the Triad was erected in the city of Telmessos itself, the divinities being the *patrooi theoi* of Lycia in general and that the Mother-Goddess was worshipped all over Lycia from antique times in various settlements (cf. Ch 1).⁴⁶²

By any means the Letoon seems to have supplanted Xanthos in its previous role as the symbolic and political primary centre of Lycia. Attesting to the change of status of the city, a short summary of a decree was found in Xanthos which relates that Antiochos III, who ruled Lycia from 197 BC onwards,⁴⁶³ consecrated the entire city to the Letoan triad.⁴⁶⁴ There is a direct link of blood between the Xanthians and Antiochos, Apollo being the tutelary divinity of the Seleucids.⁴⁶⁵ This document shows that Antiochos paid close attention to Xanthos, and especially to Xanthos as tutelary city of the Letoon, the inscription was ostensibly exposed in large and clear characters at the main entrance of the city where everybody could read it, witnessing the importance that this had to the Xanthians. After the collapse of the Seleucid grip on the region, the inscription was abraded, but not to the point of becoming unreadable, and so the privilege (probably fiscal) was therefore abolished, probably by the Rhodians, the subsequent rulers of Lycia, the region being given by the Romans to Rhodes in recognition of their support.⁴⁶⁶

This consecration was equivalent to the gift of the *asylia*⁴⁶⁷ which was in fact the protection of the integrity of the city and its dependencies. As such, they were becoming impervious to attack or coercion and the city as well as the sanctuary probably received fiscal advantages. Antiochos III did the same thing in Teos and there we know that the consecration was accompanied by exemption of the royal tax and all other taxes which were imposed by the Attalid regime, and this is not an isolated case during the Hellenistic period. If we can draw a parallel between this case and that of Teos and Nysa (who were given the *asylia* by Alexander), the king himself possibly addressed assembly. Therefore, the consecration is to the triad, which seems to say that the Xanthians asked for the favour and dictated the clauses, though we do not know if the consecration was also excluding the presence of a

⁴⁶¹ SEG XXVIII, 1224.43-44.

⁴⁶² MA, John, 2000, “The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108; TAM II 496.12.

⁴⁶³ MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.82-84.

⁴⁶⁴ MA, John, 2000, *The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)*, *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108 : about 197 BC.

⁴⁶⁵ TAM II, 266; MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.323-324, n.22.

⁴⁶⁶ BRESSON, Alain, 1998, « Rhodes, Cnide et les Lyciens au début du II^e siècle av. J.-C. », *Revue des études anciennes* 100, p.65-77 and BRESSON, Alain, 1999, “Rhodes and Lycia in Hellenistic Times”, in GABRIELSEN, Vincent, BILDE, Per, ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, Troels, HANNESTAD, Lise, and ZAHLE, Jan (ed), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society*, Aarhus, p.106-118.

⁴⁶⁷ RIGSBY, Kent J. ,1996, *Asylia : territorial inviolability in the Hellenistic world*, Berkeley, pp.33-40.

garrison (in Teos the king was there with his troops). If so, the Xanthians would have had control of their acropolis. The city seems furthermore seems to have acquired the status of *eleutheria kai autonomia*, so it could escape the status of subject city and be in a direct relationship with the king.

The issue is that our inscription is a voluntarily laconic summary of the decision. Some clauses about the extent of the *asylia* (judging by the location of the inscription the city was surely included but what about the rural areas and the vicinity of the sanctuary in itself) or the possible exemption from the royal *phoros* cannot be known for sure. Though one thing is sure, the Xanthians must have shown themselves thankful for the gift, and the official recognition of their sanctuary and by this the king was looking for the cooperation of all Lycians by giving the federal sanctuary of the *koinon* the acknowledgment it deserved. The fidelity of the Lycians during the war with Rome shows that he was successful at fostering Lycian sympathy towards him.⁴⁶⁸ It might also have been a privileged financial treatment for the Xanthians who had to endure a great deal of expense related to a sanctuary which was of benefit to the entire region.

It is nonetheless the very proof that Xanthos, in this Hellenistic period, becomes more and more closely affiliated to its sanctuary for which makes it famous and helps it retain some of its prestige, the city being largely threatened by decline in economic and political importance in the renewed Lycian game of power. We know from a decree of *isopolitia* between Myra and Xanthos (circa 167/6-160) that the priest of Apollo was at that time the first eponymous of the city. The status of Apollo as the main divinity of the city itself is therefore attested by the coinage.⁴⁶⁹ For the first time, we possess a decree of *isopolitia* between two cities of the same *koinon*, and nowhere is the peculiar fact mentioned in the decree. Therefore, we can think that the usual behaviour of the cities is one of independent states. Indeed, despite the presence of the federal sanctuary on its territory, Xanthos was an independent city, dealing with the matters of its sanctuary on its own. Outside troubled times, when the security and fate of the Lycians is in jeopardy, the cities of the *koinon* are behaving as individual cities, having their own foreign policy and special interests.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ BRESSON, Alain, 1999, "Rhodes and Lycia in Hellenistic Times", in GABRIELSEN, Vincent, BILDE, Per, ENGBERG-PEDERSEN, Troels, HANNESTAD, Lise, and ZAHLE, Jan (ed), *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society*, Aarhus, p.105 ss.; BRESSON, Alain, 2001, "Dédicace des Xanthiens à Antiochos III", in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au IIe siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.238 ss.

⁴⁶⁹ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108 ; SNG von Aulock 4475; although there are occurrences of coins from Xanthos with Apollo prior to the Hellenistic period: SNG von Aulock 4197 from Xanthos from an uncertain dynast, Circa 400 BC.

⁴⁷⁰ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, « Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 107, p.347.

Before a great period of prosperity for Lycia as a whole in the second half of the second century, the city might have been greatly affected by the beginning of the Rhodian rule over Lycia after the battle of Magnesia, and the recapture of their independence seems to have been a reason for rejoicing and federal investments as the newly independent *koinon* was renovated (almost rebuilt: the new temples were literally enclosing and incorporating the old ones within their structures)⁴⁷¹, giving rise to the three temples of the Letoon we can see the ruins of today. Such a gigantic task was certainly not within Xanthos' financial possibilities.⁴⁷² In classical times, the Trilingual Inscription shows that the new cults are were financed by Xanthos and Xanthians themselves. This is clearly not the case anymore in the second century.

We know of a donation by Artapates (end second/ beginning first century) from Pinara who gives fields near Pinara and Tlos to the sanctuary⁴⁷³ or even Opraomas of Rhodiapolis.⁴⁷⁴ Even Athens used the Delos league treasure for the acropolis of Athens, for it was too expensive even for big cities to finance a major sanctuary, even more so in a Xanthos that had already lost a great deal of its political, strategic and economic importance, mostly to Patara, when the coast imposes itself over the Xanthos valley, in an increasingly globalised world.⁴⁷⁵ All these renovations are to be measured up to the synchronously recovered autonomy of the Lycian *koinon* and therefore the Letoon went from a local sanctuary in the archaic times to a micro-regional sanctuary of the cities of the Xanthos valley at the time of Arbinas to a pan-Lycian sanctuary in the Hellenistic times.⁴⁷⁶ In the classical times, the Trilingual Inscription shows that the new cults were financed by Xanthos and the Xanthians themselves, though those were probably not in the Letoon proper, we can rightfully assume that the Xanthians were in charge of the welfare of the cults on the Letoon. But in the Hellenistic times, the donation by Artapates⁴⁷⁷ or even Opraomas of Rhodiapolis⁴⁷⁸ were evergetes from outside Xanthos. Even Athens used the Delos league treasure for the acropolis of Athens, so it was too expensive for big cities even to finance a major sanctuary.

⁴⁷¹ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C. », in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.13.

⁴⁷² DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, « Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos », *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.622 ss.

⁴⁷³ ROBERT, Louis, 1966, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale : Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Paris, p.30 ss.

⁴⁷⁴ BALLAND, André, 1981, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VII : Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon*, p.173-224.

⁴⁷⁵ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, « Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C. », in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.222.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷ ROBERT, Louis, 1966, *Documents de l'Asie mineure méridionale : Inscriptions, monnaies et géographie*, Paris, p.30 ss.

⁴⁷⁸ BALLAND, André, 1981, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VII : Inscriptions d'époque impériale du Létôon*, p.173-224.

The renovations of the second century are in this context not only a Xanthian gesture, but a real gesture of religious nationalism, though the growing status of the Letoon in the Hellenistic times could not stop the inexorable decline of Xanthos.

In Roman times the second eponymous of the city becomes the priest of Roma, mark of the attachment of the city to its 'liberator' (from the Rhodian rule) and the city starts celebrating some Rhomaia in the Letoon with a Xanthian *agonothete*.⁴⁷⁹ It was a Xanthian cult, held within the city-walls. This proves, if it was ambivalent, that the Letoon remained the sanctuary of the city of Xanthos, while being the convergent point of Lycian national identity. We know also of the existence of a priest '*pro poleos*' (probably the priest of Leto)⁴⁸⁰ who emerged from within the same family of Xanthian notables.⁴⁸¹

Two donors' lists in the Letoon from the middle of the second century show that despite the intense Hellenisation of this Hellenistic period, some names are still typically Luwian, as *Ermenenis*, *Ermatouggas*. In this apparently well-Hellenised society, the Lycian substrate survived.⁴⁸² They also show that wealth and prosperity started coming back fast after the end of the Rhodian domination, the second list, slightly posterior to the first one, is far longer, with 73 donators compared with only 27 previously, and it is, this time, for the luxury of gilding the cult statues! This surely is the sign that things were better for the Xanthians and Lycians under Roman benevolence.⁴⁸³

Another proof of the Letoon being part of the Xanthian polis entity is a decree of the Xanthian *neoi* in honour of their gymnasiarch found in the sanctuary, dating back from circa 197-193 BC. In this, the *neoi* show gratitude for their evergetical magistrate and give honours under the form of an altar in the gymnasium. What is interesting is that the honour of erecting the *stela* in the Letoon could not have been decided without the authorization of the Xanthian assembly, of which the *neoi*, as citizens, were a part of, and that as Xanthian citizens the honour of the Letoon might have represented some form of supreme distinction, which therefore might have led the magistrates to more demonstrations of his evergetism. Later on (first century BC), a decree of the same kind was found on the Letoon though this

⁴⁷⁹ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, "Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos", *Revue des études grecques* 107, p.324-325.

⁴⁸⁰ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1988, "La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue des études grecques* 101, p.24.

⁴⁸¹ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, "Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos", *Revue des études grecques* 107, p.325.

⁴⁸² Ibid., p.356.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., p.358; cf. BOUSQUET, Jean, 1988, "La stèle des Kyténiens au Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue des études grecques* 101, p.44-45 : there is a real difference between the poor 500 drachms that the Kyténians get from the Xanthians and the τμῆ of 400 drachms that in 197/6 they give to Themistocles d'Illion (ROBERT, Jeanne and Louis, 1983, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie I*, Paris, p.154-163).

time from the *neoi* of Kandyba, honouring a Tlosian evergete, probably set up in the occasion of the federal Rhomaia.⁴⁸⁴ What we have here is an interesting parallel between the Letoon as the civic sanctuary of Xanthos, and the Letoon as the federal sanctuary of the Lycian League and major sanctuary of Lycia even though the city of Xanthos by the time of the first century was little more than a shadow of its ancestral glory.

The Letoon is clearly becoming the centre of Hellenistic Xanthian civic life after previously becoming the main and then only cult centre of the city. Another example of that is an inscription of the second century found in the Letoon in which the Angeirans in Pisidia are honouring the Xanthians for sending a judge to them. The interesting point for us here is that the Angeirans can afford to erect a stele “in Xanthos in the most visible place”,⁴⁸⁵ which in this instance happens to be the Letoon and not the *intra-muros* acropolis. The erection of the stele in the Letoon would have needed the agreement from the assembly of the Xanthians⁴⁸⁶ and so we could consider that it is not the Angeirans who, far away from the city would have seen the Letoon as such but the Xanthians themselves.

That is in this Letoon, the civic centre of the city of Xanthos that the construction, after the liberation from Rhodian rule, of the buildings necessary for the *thymelic* and *gymnic* contests made sense (theatre, stadium and hippodrome).⁴⁸⁷ The Letoon, despite being some about four kilometres away from the city *per se*, has literally taken over the acropolis as the main focus point of Xanthos’ collective civic life.

It is significant that for the Hellenistic period we have found very few remains in the city of Xanthos except for a residential area, probably due to massive Roman developments like in the agora, though it is surprising that we found no evidence, fragment, substructure of any kind whatsoever, even re-used, of the Hellenistic date. More surprising is that while Xanthos witnessed very few enhancements, the Letoon experienced a tremendous monumental upheaval in the middle of the second century.⁴⁸⁸ So the Lycian type city that was Xanthos in the fourth century continued to live under this aspect until Roman times. Henceforth it is noticeable that the practice, purely indigenously Lycian, of being buried within the city

⁴⁸⁴ GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1996, “Bienfaiteurs du gymnase au Létôon de Xanthos”, *Revue des études grecques* 109, p.1-34.

⁴⁸⁵ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1993, “Un juge de Xanthos a Angeira de Pisidie”, *Revue des études grecques* 106, p.16.

⁴⁸⁶ GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1996, « Bienfaiteurs du gymnase au Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue des études grecques* 109, p.26.

⁴⁸⁷ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-351.

⁴⁸⁸ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Laurence, 2001, “The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times” in PARRISH, D. (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 45, p.158-9.

continued to some extent through the third century.⁴⁸⁹ The *intra-muros* temples of the classical period seem not to have been used in the Hellenistic period, replaced by the Letoon. The only exception to this is the ‘foundation’ of an altar and a temple to Artemis in Xanthos by Antiochos III,⁴⁹⁰ showing a revival of the cults of Artemis practised on the acropolis in the classical times, perhaps to fortify the presence of Artemis as the Greek deity in the local minds and push on the idea that the whole city of Xanthos, urban and sanctuary areas included, was sacralised.

This complete upheaval of what the Letoon was and meant for the Xanthians, the Lycians as well as the outsiders between the sixth century and Roman times, was a long process which we have tried so far to describe. The monumental aspect of the Letoon changed tremendously, at great financial expense while Xanthos was not receiving such financial attention. We could therefore think that in the mind of Lycians the perceived centre of Lycia shifted from Xanthos to its sanctuary, and the creation of a Lycian *koinon* only intensified this phenomenon. But the divinities worshipped there in the sanctuary also evolved into apparently very different entities in the same period of time. We will subsequently try to understand how these deities evolved in name, nature and substance during this long era between the Persian invasion and the Roman era.

⁴⁸⁹ DES COURTILS, Jacques and CAVALIER, Laurence, 2001, “The city of Xanthos from Archaic to Byzantine times” in PARRISH, D. (ed), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor*, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. 45, p.170.

⁴⁹⁰ TAM II 1, 263.

Chapter 5: The divinities of the Letoon: evolutions and developments:

We have so far seen that the gradual development of the Letoon was connected to the political and cultural upheavals of the city of Xanthos and to some extent of Lycia. The divinities worshipped in this sanctuary were also subject to the cultural environment which the region found itself in. Surely the arrival of a number of Greek ideas and myths as well as the influence of Greek craftsmanship must have affected the way the Xanthians and Lycians conceived and venerated their pantheon of divinities. Indeed by sometime in the fourth century, local divinities were given Greek divinities' names. This process took time and is not necessarily a straightforward syncretic phenomenon between an indigenous divinity and its Greek counterpart. In the following chapter we are trying to dissect and analyse these phenomena in the light of available evidence as well as situating the position of religious changes in the grand scheme of cultural evolution. In doing so we will see that the Mother-Goddess became Leto but kept a number of ancestral attributes among which some water divinities attached to the local spring which became the Nymphs, witnessing a strong connection of the sanctuary's divinities with the natural surroundings. We will also try to understand in which condition Apollo and Artemis were added to the Mother-Goddess/Leto to form a triad in the Letoon and if, like the nymphs, they were Greek names given to local divinities or if they were previously known divinities in Lycia. As we are going to see there is no certitude as to how any of those Greek divinities were introduced in Lycia but one thing seems almost certain, they did not appear concomitantly and for the same reasons.

i-Leto of Xanthos, the great Lycian Mother-Goddess and its spring:(cf. fig.13 and 14)

In the pantheon of Xanthian/Letoan divinities, one is visibly the most important. From the emergence of the Greek language in Xanthos we know her as Leto, but she was known by a different name by the native Lycians. The sanctuary of the Letoon was named after and centred around the cult of a divinity the Greeks assimilated to their own Leto. The original indigenous cult was a very local form of Mother-Goddess. We know of her name through inscriptions in the native language. Despite the Greek name Leto which is nowadays associated with the site, the goddess is a Western Asian divinity for which unusually we know the native name: *Eni mahanahi* in Xanthos or *Eni qlahi ebiyehi* elsewhere in Lycia and in one instance in the Letoon,⁴⁹¹ respectively “divine mother” and “mother of this precinct”.

⁴⁹¹ Bilingual at Antiphellos TL 56, confirmed by the Letoan's trilingual LAROCHE, Emmanuel in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, p.49-127.

Those clearly derived from Luwian etymologies.⁴⁹² The two goddesses, Leto and the Lycian Mother-Goddess, were probably connected around the theme of the maternity, although the Anatolian Mother-Goddess' maternity is seen as far more natural than the Leto's maternity which is largely based around the fact that she is mother of two other gods, Apollo and Artemis.⁴⁹³

The native name of Leto was probably too unaesthetic or too complex (in its pan-Lycian form *eni qlahi ebiyehi*)⁴⁹⁴ to figure in personal names (as, for example, theophoric names such as Ploutos and Persephone in Greek onomastics).⁴⁹⁵ This would explain why the main indigenous divinity is not used in any theophorically-built name in Lycia. But the reason for this might be elsewhere. Indeed the nature and attributes of the divinity might have made the name of the divinity too sacral for use in personal names.

We have stated before that the most prominent of the ethnic groups of Lycia was the Luwian speaking population. Also the names of divinities are Luwian.⁴⁹⁶ The 'mother of the gods' (*eni mahanahi* in Xanthos) was known in Luwian as *annis massanassis* and may well have been introduced into Lycia by the Luwian speaking *Lukka* people sometime after 1200 BC as we mentioned here above in the introductory pages. She was noticeably known in the fifth and fourth centuries outside Xanthos as 'mother of this sanctuary/precinct' (*eni qlahi ebiyehi*) in Tlos,⁴⁹⁷ in Antiphellos,⁴⁹⁸ in Isinda,⁴⁹⁹ in Myra⁵⁰⁰ and especially in Telmessos,⁵⁰¹ reflecting the goddess' importance throughout the whole country, although not as a unifying national goddess, but as a goddess specific to each precinct or district.⁵⁰²

There is however no evidence for any national organisation of Lycian cults overall, and the Letoon though the Letoon was the religious focal point for the region as a whole, the worship of most deities stayed attached to the local cult centres. The same deity could be worshipped in many different places but each community regarded it as belonging to that

⁴⁹² LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1980, « Les dieux de la Lycie classique d'après les textes lyciens », *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris, p.3.

⁴⁹³ FREZOULS, Edmond, 1993, « Les cultes de la Lycie occidentale », in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6-12 Mai 1990*, p.206.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. Ch.I-1,iii.

⁴⁹⁵ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.60.

⁴⁹⁶ BRYCE, Trevor, 1981, "Disciplinary agents in the Sepulchral Inscriptions of Lycia", *Anatolian Studies* 31, 1981, pp.81-93.

⁴⁹⁷ TL 26.

⁴⁹⁸ TL 56.

⁴⁹⁹ TL 65.

⁵⁰⁰ TL 94.

⁵⁰¹ TL 102,110,112,131 and 145.

⁵⁰² BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.5.

centre or district, as the variation of appellation for each of the Mother-Goddess shows (“of this precinct”). We have seen earlier on that the Letoon possibly had an offshoot temple in Telmessos,⁵⁰³ a temple to a Telmessian “mother of this precinct”, which would have followed the transformation of the Xanthian “*eni mahanahi*” into Leto, and the ‘adoption’ of Artemis and Apollo, and would therefore have confirmed the assumed supremacy of the Letoon over the other Lycian sanctuaries.

So in the classical times, the Letoon was to some extent the religious focal point for the whole region, a status it had begun to acquire during the archaic period. However the cults were originally very local. These were centred around the cult of a local form of deity which is found in various places around Lycia, called the Mother(s) of these sanctuaries with the exception of the Letoon where she tends to assume the name of the Luwian Mother-Goddess without any limiting specification. The references to the *mahai huwedri* “the confederate gods”, “the assembly of the gods”, “all the gods” may point, whoever they are, to the conscience of a common pantheon amongst the Lycians. In this common religious conscience, the divinities of the Letoon may have been a strong focal point, linked to the prominent sacred sanctuary of Xanthos among the Lycian cities.⁵⁰⁴ The antiquity of the sacredness of the site or of the longevity of the Lycian Mother-Goddess is uncertain. However it seems probable that the Letoon’s cult dates back to a second millenium’s *Annis massanassis*.⁵⁰⁵ The idea that Xanthos may have been the centre of the cultural influence throughout Lycia for the new Luwian settlers is looking more relevant through the prism of religion. But as we have frequently stated here above, no artefact earlier than the seventh century BC have been found in either Xanthos or the Letoon, therefore making difficult any assumption about the state of religious affairs prior to the probable inclusion of Lycia into the Luwian cultural area.

Much later on, local divinities progressively adopted Greek names while at the same time more and more inscriptions in Greek appeared. The name Leto was introduced in Lycia, at the earliest, by the time of Arbinas, at the beginning of the fourth century. The name of Leto appears already in a native inscription of the early fourth century in the form “*me:leθθi*” in the phrase which was translated “et il a fait l’enceinte de Lèto” (‘*and he made Leto’s precinct*’) by Laroche.⁵⁰⁶ The assimilation probably happened based on the

⁵⁰³ SEG XXVIII, 1224.43-44 ; MA, John , 2000, “The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108 ; cf. Ch.I-1,iii.

⁵⁰⁴ TEIXIDOR, Javier, 1978, “The Aramaic Text in the Stele from Xanthus”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37, p.181-5.

⁵⁰⁵ MELLINK, Machteld J., 1995, “Homer, Lycia, and Lukka”, in CARTER, Jane P. and MORRIS, Sarah P., *The ages of Homer : a tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, Austin, p.37 .

⁵⁰⁶ TL 44b 61; LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VI : La stèle trilingue du Létoon*,

observation of a certain number of characteristics of the indigenous Lycian Mother-Goddess. The Lycian form of the triad Leto, Apollo and Artemis was formed,⁵⁰⁷ and was firmly settled within the Letoon by the middle of the fourth century when the Trilingual Inscription was inscribed. Before this, the cultic manifestations were made in the name of *eni mahanahi*.⁵⁰⁸ Prior to the fourth century there is no known attachment between Leto and her offspring, Artemis (as *Ertemmi*) figures in fifth century native inscriptions and she pre-dates Leto which only appears in the early decades of the fourth century, Apollo does not occur before the fourth century. It seems doubtful that *eni mahanahi/eni qlahi ebijehi* was assimilated, as it has been suggested, to Leto by the similarity with the Lycian word *lada* for “wife” or “lady”, though the lexical similarities could have helped the indigenous population to accept their divinity’s new name.⁵⁰⁹

Generally the contamination of the divinities of the Letoon, Leto and auxiliaries, by their Greek counterparts seems not to appear before the end of the fifth century and may have been initiated by the assimilation of the Mother-Goddess into Leto and the acknowledgement of the Letoan triad, a consequence of the process of Hellenisation in Lycia in the late fifth and early fourth century.⁵¹⁰ This adoption and association of the triad may well have been settled by Arbinas religious interventionism and at the time of the monumental renewal of the Letoon.⁵¹¹

In Greece Leto already exists but there she is strongly and almost exclusively attached to her role as the mother of Apollo and Artemis.⁵¹² In Lycia on the other hand Artemis and Apollo are merely named *ta tekna* or, like in the Trilingual Inscription, *oi eggonoi*. The exceptions in such appellations in Lycia are not frequent (in the Aramaic version of the Trilingual Inscription, on the second Greek face of the Arbinas base, or an inscription in Telmessos (p.130 n.501)), while such designations are very exceptional in Greece. Her Lycian

p.114; LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1980, “Les dieux de la Lycie classique d’après les textes lyciens” in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris, p.3-4.

⁵⁰⁷ METZGER, Henri, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VI : La stèle trilingue du Létoon*, p.24: a statue base for Leto (first apparition of the goddess under her Greek name) by Arbinas: poem of Symmachos, erected in the honour of Leto (slightly before 375 BC); BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, “The Arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia”, *Historia* 32, p.9.

⁵⁰⁸ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, “The Arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia”, *Historia* 32, p.1-13.

⁵⁰⁹ MELCHERT, Craig H., 1993, “A new interpretation of lines c 3-9 of the Xanthos Stele”, in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6-12 Mai 1990*, p.37; KEEN, Antony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with foreign powers, c. 545-362 BC*, Leiden, p.195-6.

⁵¹⁰ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, “The Arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia”, *Historia* 32, p.11-3.

⁵¹¹ METZGER, Henri, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VI : La stèle trilingue du Létoon*, p.25.

⁵¹² KAHIL, Lolly, 1992, “Leto”, LIMC 6.1, p.256-264 : Leto appears on fifth century ceramics almost always appear with at least one of her two children (mostly Apollo) or the two of them, but never alone.

personality also is surprising: she is avenging herself personally⁵¹³ while the Greek version of the goddess is avenged by her offspring, because she is by nature the contrary of violence. In the Trilingual Inscription, twice, and in one inscription of Oinoanda,⁵¹⁴ she is linked with slaves emancipation contrarily to her Greek situation.

But why was this Mother-Goddess was assimilated into Leto and for instance not Cybele (such as in Sardis), Artemis (Ephesus) or Demeter like the *annis massanassis* became elsewhere in Anatolia? In Kultepe, a statuette of the ancient Bronze age (end 3rd-beginning 2nd millennium BC) was found, a Mother-Goddess carrying two feminine little figures.⁵¹⁵ Near Antalya, an ivory statuette representing a woman accompanied by two children, distinctively a boy and a girl, was found in a Phrygian private burial and was dated back from the end of the eighth/beginning seventh century by the excavation but was probably a bit posterior and is likely to have been a votive offering.⁵¹⁶ Thus this could be some proof that a triad with some similarity with the Apollinian triad existed in Southern Anatolia as soon as the Archaic period. Therefore the arrival of the Greek cults were matched to some extent with an Anatolian counterpart. The cults in the Letoon may have included a triad formed around the *eni mahanahi*, itself the extrapolation of more ancient local cult centred around a spring of some great local significance. This brings back to mind the triple cellae temple of the sixth century on the acropolis of Xanthos of which we talked earlier on, which could be, in the light of this hypothesis, the place for the cult of an early divine triad, an urban annex of the rural sanctuary that was soon-to-be the Letoon.⁵¹⁷

The native goddess is often in the company of the *Eliyanna*, who were probably a form of water or spring divinities, associated with the Letoon's spring, identified later with the Nymphs. Their names is also incidentally of Luwian origins.⁵¹⁸ The name *Eliyanna* probably comes from the Luwian *ali(ya)*- which designated a liquid element such as a lake, pond, river. The cult certainly originated from western Anatolia, as it is yet unknown in Hittite

⁵¹³ BALLAND, André, 1981, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: inscriptions grecques d'époque impériale du Létôon*, p.18 ; BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.2-3 and BRYCE, Trevor, 1986, *The Lycians*, p.175-177.

⁵¹⁴ HALL, Alan, 1977, "A Sanctuary of Leto at Oenoanda", *Anatolian Studies* 27, p.195.

⁵¹⁵ *Anadolu Medeniyetleri I, Tarih Öncesi / Hitit / İlk Demir Çağı*, Catalogue of the exposition of the Anatolian civilisations, Istanbul 1983, n.A 272 p.121.

⁵¹⁶ SARE, Tuna, 2010, "An Archaic figurine from a tumulus near Elmali : Cultural hybridization and a new Anatolian style", *Hesperia* 79, p.53-78.

⁵¹⁷ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, « Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérés au Létôon de Xanthos », in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.241 ss.

⁵¹⁸ LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1980, « Les dieux de la Lycie classique d'après les textes lyciens », *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Paris, p.4.

sources.⁵¹⁹ This association with environmental attribute and auxiliary divinities is not a characteristic of Leto as seen in Greece. The Nymphs are cited for the first time alongside the triad in the Arbinas poem around 380, and so by this time the assimilation was made as were those of the three divinities with their Greek counterparts.⁵²⁰ The assimilation of the spring divinities in the Nymphs certainly coincided with assimilation of the Mother-Goddess with Leto.

On the famous Harpy Tomb of the 480s-470s (cf. fig.15 and 16), as on many Lycian funerary monuments, are winged female figures of some forms, therefore suggesting that some female divine figures were connected with the local ideas of death, carriers of the souls of the deceased. On this one, precisely, they have been mixed up by the first historians as being Harpies or Sirens, thus the well-known name that was given to the monument, although it is a tomb. On the building G (maybe a Sarpedoneion) they are standing female figures.⁵²¹ On the 'Dancing Women' sarcophagus from Xanthos, they are obviously dancing (cf. fig. 17).⁵²²

On the Nereid Monument in Xanthos (cf. fig. 18), they are lightly clothed women who are in this case without much doubt the *Eliyanna*/Nymphs of the Letoon. Keen⁵²³ thinks we have here some Lycian female spirits of the dead (the figures on the Harpy Tomb have been interpreted as taking away the souls of the deceased) who have been visualized through a variety of Greek iconographic images mainly under the early influence of the iconography of imported Aegean and Attic ceramics.⁵²⁴ However those characters clearly refer to the Lycian water nymphs, the *Eliyanna*, venerated at the spring on the Letoon, from as early as the sixth century.

These enigmatic deities are also at use in another context. They are literally associated to Artemis in an inscription to confer glory upon Arbinas' father Kheriga.⁵²⁵ They are frequently mentioned as agents of retribution for burials, or for the enactments of some

⁵¹⁹ LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.114.

⁵²⁰ *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, p.158 and p.178-9.

⁵²¹ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.90.

⁵²² METZGER, Henri, 1974, *Fouilles de Xanthos, V : Tombes-maisons, tombes rupestres, sarcophages*, p.100-103.

⁵²³ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.205-8.

⁵²⁴ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, "Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérés au Létôon de Xanthos", in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.43, n.39 ; BARRINGER, Judith M., 1995, *Divine escorts : Nereids in archaic and classical Greek art*, Ann Arbor, p.59-66.

⁵²⁵ SEG XXXIX, 1414.53 ; BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, "Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes", in *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, B.33.

decrees, and thus probably had a very important civic role in Xanthian society. Moreover, the usage of the Greek Nymphs encloses many different sorts of natural divinities: the Nereids (those on which the *Eliyanna* have been associated on the Arbinas burial), the Oreades, the Dryades and other divinities of the waters, sea or fresh, mountains and forests.⁵²⁶ Moreover, we know of a sacred wood (“*alsos*”) at the time of Mithridates.⁵²⁷ On the Trilingual Inscription the « *eni qlahi ebijehi pntrenni se tideime ehbiye sej Eliyanna* » is translated « *Letous, kai eggonon kai Numphon* » in Greek, Leto (the mother of this precinct), her children and the *Eliyanna*/Nymphs (the Aramaic inscriber unimpressed by the name translates by the mere “and other (divinities)”), surely attesting of the assimilation with the Greek Nymphs that already happened, but by contrast did not with any Persian or imperial divinities.

This bivalent situation between Greek and indigenous names (and natures?) lasted until Alexander’s conquest. Both ranges of divine names coexist in the bilingual inscriptions : Leto as the « mother of this (sacred) precinct » ; the Nymphs, guardians of the sacred spring of Leto, as the *Eliyanna* ; but also Apollo as *Natri*,⁵²⁸ Artemis as *Ertemmi* and Aphrodite as *Pedrita*. The presence of Artemis in the Letoon might be more complex than a simple import, as Le Roy seems to think.⁵²⁹ But, as for Apollo, we should explore those avenues later on in the section 3 of this chapter.

The extensive renovations of the temples and infrastructures of the Letoon in the second century BC had left some hints of the shape of the previous structures. As we mentioned in the previous chapter, the foundations of a smaller earlier temple can be seen within the Hellenistic temple of Leto. Laroche, during the 1997 excavations campaign, suggested that it was the whole former temple which was conserved within the newly built temple.⁵³⁰ Indeed the paving of the first temple of Leto was probably reused in the Hellenistic temple so we could presume that the fourth century Lycian temple of Leto was included within the Hellenistic Ionic temple, and therefore piously conserved.⁵³¹ This is quite exceptional in the

⁵²⁶ BOUSQUET, Jean and GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, « Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue d'études grecques* 107, p.360.

⁵²⁷ Ibid.

⁵²⁸ ASHERI, David, 1983, “Fra Ellenismo e Iranismo : Il caso di Xanthos fra il V e IV sec. a. C.”, in *Modes de contacts et processus de transformation dans les sociétés anciennes*, p.485-500; BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, “The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia”, *Historia* 32, p.8-9; NEUMANN, Günter, 1979, “Namen und Epiklesen Lykischer Götter”, in *Florilegium Anatolicum ; Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, p.263 and 271.

⁵²⁹ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, “Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie”, *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.12.

⁵³⁰ LAROCHE, Didier, 2007, “La reconstruction du temple de Létô au Létôon de Xanthos”, *Revue Archéologique*, p.169-174.

⁵³¹ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, “Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C.” in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.218.

Greek world and must be appreciated as a strong message from the architect and planners of the reconstruction of the sanctuary. The fact that the entire Lycian *koinon* had been involved in those decisions reflects on a surprisingly religious conservatism from the Lycian community (cf. Ch. 4).

Another significant fact about our Xanthian Leto is her relative absence from a number of sources (as far as we know we have no iconographic representation of the Goddess even in the form of Greek Leto),⁵³² contrasting heavily with her obvious importance in the monumental aspects of the Letoon and her role in the Classical period inscriptions. Albeit we have to say that the general absence of Leto on the coinage,⁵³³ especially in Xanthos, is puzzling. It is rather Apollo, especially in the Hellenistic era, which appears the most frequently on the Lycian coinage. The Mother-Goddess is clearly the dominant divinity in the Letoon as well as of the Lycian pantheon and so at least before the invasion of Antiochos III, but this latter may have favoured Apollo as his 'ancestor'.⁵³⁴ It is possible that the cult of the Mother-Goddess never really achieved in cult practice a complete assimilation to the Greek Leto, and therefore was not appropriate to be pictured on one of the Lycian *koinon* cities' coinage. Apollo was therefore a much better figure to be used in that purpose.⁵³⁵ The cult of Apollo may have supplanted the cult of Leto as the image of a more integrated and Hellenised Lycia. In this respect the fact that the Hellenistic temple of Apollo in the Letoon is of a relative less importance than Leto's is significant. The cult of Leto remained at least until the end of the second century the major cult of Xanthos and the Letoon, though the situation may have change progressively in favour of Apollo. But there is in this case very little evidence. The priest of Apollo is the first eponymous in the treaty of *isopolitia* with Myra (160s) and the city's coinage is largely dominated by the latter divinity, in a very Greek way, while Leto is completely absent. Christian Le Roy sees there the confirmation of the fundamental separation between imported Greek on the first hand and indigenous

⁵³² Although some feminine divine representations on coins of fifth century dynasts have been suggested as being a local Persephone, by analogy to the seating-on-a-throne probable divinity of the Harpy monument: DINSTL, Alice, 1990, "Harpyen-Monument" in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen (ed), *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien, Katalog zur Ausstellung auf der Schallaburg, 28. April - 4. Nov. 1990*, Wien, p.164.

⁵³³ Once again there is a presumption that Leto might appear on some of the fifth century dynasts' coins, although every time there seems to be a better explanation for the feminine figure: cf. VISMARA, Nicola, 2002, "Evidenze religiose sulla monetazione arcaica della Lycia, Elementi per una prima discussione", *Transeuthratène* 23, p.101-127 : most of those representations seems to send back to the Luwian goddess Maliya or to the Eliyanna or even not cultic representations.

⁵³⁴ I.Erythrae 205: Seleukos I is presented as the son of Apollo ; cf. GRAINGER, John D., 1990, *Seleukos Nikator: Constructing a Hellenistic Kingdom*, London.

⁵³⁵ Apollo/ Natri appears on coins from the fifth century onward: VISMARA, Nicola, 2002, "Evidenze religiose sulla monetazione arcaica della Lycia, Elementi per una prima discussione", *Transeuthratène* 23, p.112, 118, the numismatic iconography seems to take its influence in Rhodian and Cypriot coinages.

divinities receiving a Greek appellation on the other.⁵³⁶ Though such phenomenon exists elsewhere in southern Anatolia like in Cilicia for example with for instance Tarhunt/Zeus, and this is not always so obvious. We are talking of late coinage, which has been influenced by the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Rhodian coins iconography. Therefore this numismatic iconography has little value in terms of religious significance, especially for Xanthos which has shown so much commitment for the several dynasties and in many cases the coinage is not the place to express religious conservatism.

Leto is also less present amongst the epigraphic corpus than her offspring. Though in the rest of the Greek world Leto is a minor divinity who lives only through her progeny, in the Letoon she is the main divinity. Le Roy thinks that the cult of Leto was a more popular cult. The silent, illiterate majority's devotion was far more orientated towards the traditional cults, than a highly Hellenised elite. We could also ask about the status of the Xanthian Leto. She is cited in native inscriptions then in Greek inscriptions but does not appear in personal names and she does not appear in the iconographical corpus. The Hellenistic Lycians may have had religious reasons of which we do not know anything about. The assimilation of the two goddesses may have stayed incomplete due to the very peculiar status of the Lycian Mother-Goddess. In a population which chose to keep almost intact the old religious structures, only hiding them in a Greek disguise, we should not underestimate the weight of religious tradition and customs. In this respect the polish figure of Apollo, which I think represented only one aspect, as were the *Eliyanna* of the spring, of a very complex, very sacred and very regional cult of the Mother-Goddess, might have been far less difficult to deal with in an Hellenised context. Apollo was a simple addition to the cults already in place, while the assimilation of Leto to the local Mother-Goddess might created more problems.

The cult of the Nymphs/*Eliyanna* did not decline in the Hellenistic period. On the contrary, an inscription mentions, next to the three temples, a Parthenon which could well be the elusive Hellenistic Nymphs' temple, probably destroyed by the construction of the Roman Nymphaeum. Its mention next to the three other temples proves that it was of a comparable importance, both in size and religiously.⁵³⁷ The insistence to continue venerating the Nymphs despite the absence of clear theological link with the triad is a testament to religious continuity. The locals assimilated attributes of the Mother-Goddess to Greek divinities,

⁵³⁶ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, "Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérés au Létôon de Xanthos" in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.41-44.

⁵³⁷ BOUSQUET, Jean, GAUTHIER, Philippe, 1994, « Inscriptions du Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue d'études grecques* 107, p.358.

maybe those were already entities before the Greek influence, but nevertheless did not seemingly take anything from her complete auxiliary pantheon to accommodate similarities with the Greek myths.

Edmond Frézouls thought that the *interpretatio graeca* of the Lycian divinities turning them into Greek divinities may have simply not touched the lower-classes, further remote from the centres where the 'Hellenisation' *per se* happened. The Lycian language stayed in use longer as the lower social classes' vernacular. Inscriptions were made more in Greek as the fourth century came to a close and the Hellenistic period started. They focused on a few divinities which were more usual in an Hellenic context. Those inscriptions were inscribed by official organs, notables and wealthy people.⁵³⁸ The Letoon was first of all a Lycian sanctuary and the sanctuary of the Mother-Goddess which lived in and through the spring, and this conception may have long-lived in most native Lycian minds, though they wanted to show superficial signs of Greek uniformity for their culture to be understood and adopted into the Hellenistic world. This conception of the Letoon triad as being a local/regional cult is present in the epigraphy in the mention of the *theos patroos Xanthos*,⁵³⁹ or *patrooi theoi* within Xanthos itself.⁵⁴⁰

The legends about Leto and Lycia, though written late, are not without any significance. For example, Ovid's story about Leto fleeing to Lycia and the bath she gave there to her children is not the only fact that insists on the role of water in the very holy space of the Letoon, but reveals that even in those latter days the spring in the Letoon was still considered as an essential part of the cult of Leto in the Letoon. The adjustments of the second century were separating the spring from the temples terrace by an alleyway, which more than its physical necessity, was the symbol that the spring was an essential religious space in itself.⁵⁴¹ Indeed the *Eliyanna* were not completely forgotten in the uprising of the triad, but the venerable water divinities received a new Nymphaeum, slightly in the south-west of the sacred spring, and a basin was nourished by the spring a few meters north, next to the Leto temple, so the link between the spring and the Xanthian Letoon could not be forgotten. This building can be dated back to the second century as well.⁵⁴² Through this architecture linking the earth, the cave and the water, we can see the growing taste for a controlled, domesticated and

⁵³⁸ FREZOULS, Edmond, 1993, "Les cultes de la Lycie occidentale" in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, ETAM 17, p.210.

⁵³⁹ TAM II, 1. 293-296.

⁵⁴⁰ TAM II,1, 267.

⁵⁴¹ DAVESNE, Alain, 2000, "Portiques du Létôon de Xanthos", *Compte-rendus de l'académie des inscriptions et des Belles-Lettres*, p.620.

⁵⁴² DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, "Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C." in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris, p.220.

mastered nature during the Hellenistic and Roman period.⁵⁴³ This might have been in contradiction with the early cults which were attached to the natural facet of the native divinities.

One characteristic of the Leto of Xanthos is its vengeance and aggressive protective characteristics, something very far to the model of Greek Leto. In the Trilingual Inscription, the establishment of the new cults and their procedures are enforced by the statement that the gods of Xanthos (Leto and her offsprings) will punish any infraction or crimes against the new cults or against the possessions of the new divinities, therefore legitimising the entry of the new divinities in the Lycian pantheon as local divinities.⁵⁴⁴ In addition to this, in Antiphellos, on a bilingual tomb inscription of the first half of the fourth century BC, the 'mother of the precinct' is in charge of protecting the tombs with also the local authority while the Greek version merely says that Leto will destroy the desecrator.⁵⁴⁵

Leto shows this type of characteristic in literary sources. The goddess's return, after a previous trip, to exact vengeance on the inhospitable herdsmen in a version of Leto's legend told by Servius (a fourth century AD Roman commentator).⁵⁴⁶ In Antoninus Liberalis' version of Leto's arrival in Lycia, the confrontation took place near a spring called Melite, where the divinity has paused to bathe her infants before proceeding to the Xanthos river, a name probably connected to the Greek word for honey *μελιτ-*, but could be a term connected of sweetness or appeal and might well be referred to a fresh spring.⁵⁴⁷ If it is not a pure invention, it might be connected to a more pre-Greek Anatolian background. Indeed the Hittite *milit-*, Luwian *mallit-* meaning 'honey' and more the Luwian adjective *mallidu-*: 'sweet'. The naming of water springs was not an unusual practice in Anatolia where they were scarce and often saline, and so clear fresh springs were valued. Directly or indirectly (by Indo-European lexicality) the Melite spring legend finds an Anatolian origin.⁵⁴⁸ Antoninus Liberalis' and Servius' accounts stem from the same source, which can be traced back at least to the fourth century. Indeed Antoninus Liberalis cites Menekrates of Xanthos as one of his sources (as well as Nikander). The tradition contradicts the local version

⁵⁴³ METZGER, Henri, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VI : La stèle trilingue du Létœon*, p.14; LE ROY, Christian, 1991, « Le développement monumental du Létœon de Xanthos », *Revue Archéologique*, p.348.

⁵⁴⁴ TEIXIDOR, Javier, 1978, "The Aramaic Text in the Stele from Xanthus", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 37, p.181-5.

⁵⁴⁵ TL 56.

⁵⁴⁶ Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Commentary on the Aeneid of Vergil* 3.73.

⁵⁴⁷ Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphosis* 35 ; Ovid, *Metamorphosis* 6.356-357, 369 : Ovid's version insists more on the desire of Leto to quench her thirst than on the desire to bathe her infants

⁵⁴⁸ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.3.

counted by Polycharmos⁵⁴⁹ which gives Araxa as the place of birth of Artemis and Apollo. Therefore there was probably an effort of Menekrates to associate the site of the Letoon with the myth of the birth of Apollo and Artemis and therefore replace the sanctuary in the Greek mythology.⁵⁵⁰ In this fourth century, local inhabitants of Xanthos are therefore more and more included into the Greek world and attempts are made to include local beliefs into the wider spectrum of Greek myths and religious legends. Henceforth the divinities of the Letoon, having received Greek names, are fully included into the Greek pantheon's structure.

Nevertheless the herdsmen tradition implies that Lycia was already inhabited at the time of the arrival of Leto, and that the reception was an hostile one. If, as often, myths are carrying some parallels with historical situations, we might wonder if this is the description of a hostile reception of the Greek divinities by the native population. The assimilation of their Mother-Goddess to a foreign divinity might not have gone through without turmoil. The Herdsmen could well be the Xanthian population or maybe the clergy of the sanctuary. On the other hand Stephanus Byzantinus⁵⁵¹ (fifth century AD) gives for non-Greek *Syessa* this definition: a type of Lycian hut which derives its name from a woman who would have sheltered Leto, a refugee reception but a friendly one. In this the friendly woman could well be a metaphoric view of the Mother-Goddess welcoming her Greek counterpart but that is no more than conjecture.

Antoninus Liberalis⁵⁵² tells the story of the wolves which befriended the goddess after the herdsmen rejection and led her to the Xanthos River. According to him, the country was called *Tremelis*, and the wolves gave its name of Lycia. The region was named after a population group called Termilae. Alexander Polyhistor (first century BC)⁵⁵³ claims that it was Bellerophon who changed the name of the people from *Tremili* to *Lykioi*. All those have one common point: the name of Lycia is assumed to be of Greek origins.⁵⁵⁴

The Antoninus Liberalis and Ovid⁵⁵⁵ texts show that the spring's water is considered regenerative, alive and powerful. Balland⁵⁵⁶ suggested that at the time a ritual immersion

⁵⁴⁹ Brill's New Jacoby 770 ; TAM II, 174 in Sidyma.

⁵⁵⁰ ASHERI, David, 1983, *Fra ellenismo e iranismo. Studi sulla società e Cultura di Xanthos nell'età achemenida*, Bologna, p.143 thinks that the Menekrates version is a compromise between Greek and Lycian versions of the same legend.

⁵⁵¹ Stephanus Byzantinus, v.s. *Syessa*.

⁵⁵² Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphosis* 35.

⁵⁵³ Alexander Polyhistor (ap. Stephanus Byzantinus), *Fragments of the Greek Historians*, 273F.

⁵⁵⁴ BRYCE, Trevor, 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.2-4.

⁵⁵⁵ Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorphosis* 35 ; Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, 6. 356-357, 369.

⁵⁵⁶ BALLAND, André, 1981, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: inscriptions grecques d'époque impériale du Létôon*, p.17 n.39.

was performed by the pilgrims in the spring. The excavations have since found some votive gifts in the spring going back to the beginning of the seventh century, which tend to prove that there was indeed a symbolic immersion, of a ceramic figurine by the worshipper, supposedly a self-representation, a ritual which would have lasted until the Roman times.⁵⁵⁷ The water's qualities were still regarded as part of the cult around the Letoon in Roman times, and the buildings improvements brought for mastering of the spring in Hellenistic and Roman times are only confirming that the waters and the divinities residing there, the Eliyanna/Nymphs, were central to the cult of Xanthian Leto.

But the arrival of Leto as the Greek version of the Mother-Goddess of Xanthos seems to have initiated a fusion of local myths with Greek ones. The native population is more and more aware of the Greek world and its culture. Nevertheless the adoption of Greek divinities as their own did not seem to change the nature of the divinities worshipped at the Letoon. The original nature and substance, as well as its peculiar sacredness, of the Mother-Goddess seems to have survived through the assimilation of Leto, a rather minor Greek divinity which was known mostly, only as the progenitor of Artemis and Apollo. The vision of Artemis and Apollo in Xanthos and the Letoon should therefore be strongly attached to the attributes or secondary divinities attached to the Mother-Goddess. As we are going to see Artemis and Apollo were indeed associated with the Letoon in conjunction with the arrival of Leto there. But they progressively found a life of their own.

ii-Artemis of Xanthos and of the Letoon:

The nature of Artemis as venerated in the Letoon is also problematic. As we discussed just before the arrival of the Leto/Artemis/Apollo triad in the Letoon seems to coincide with the reign of Arbinas and the refection of the sanctuary. In the fourth century, the divinities of the Letoon are progressively becoming assimilated with their Greek counterparts. Only after the Letoon is rebuilt by Arbinas (390/80s) does the Triad in its Greek form effectively settle down in the Letoon. Before this the Lycian divinities venerated in the Xanthian sanctuary are not referred to in any way as such a simple combination. The bivalence between Greek and indigenous names (and natures?) lasted until Alexander's conquest. Both ranges of divine names coexist in the bilingual inscriptions : Leto as the « mother of this (sacred) precinct » ; the Nymphs, guardians of the sacred spring of Leto, as the *Eliyanna* ; but also Apollo as *Natri*, Artemis as *Ertemmi* and also Aphrodite as *Pedrita*. The presence of Artemis in the Letoon might be more complex than a simple import, a complete package

⁵⁵⁷ LE ROY, Christian, 1990, « La source sacrée du Létoon de Xanthos et son dépôt votif », *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, p.125-131.

divinity moved here with all its attributes, with no divine attachment to previous cults, as Le Roy seems to think.⁵⁵⁸

Hence the triad Leto, Apollo, Artemis was formed,⁵⁵⁹ and was firmly settled within the Letoon by the middle of the fourth century when the Trilingual Inscription was inscribed despite the fact that the Greek translation does not name Apollo and Artemis explicitly as we mentioned previously. Before this, the cultic manifestations were made in the name of the *eni mahanahi*.⁵⁶⁰ Prior to the fourth century there is no attachment between Leto or her Lycian counterpart and her offspring. Artemis (*Ertemmi*) figures in the fifth century native inscriptions and she predates Leto which appears only in the early decades of the fourth century, Apollo does not occur before the fourth century. These differentiated dates of adoption of Greek divinities is the proof that the assimilation of divinities is not a straightforward process. In the Trilingual Inscription, Apollo and Artemis are not yet explicitly mentioned (they are merely designed as *oi eggonoi* but also elsewhere *ta tekna*), but by the Roman imperial times they have become the *theoi patrooi* of Lycia as a whole and legends are attesting of the birth of Artemis and Apollo in the Letoon.

But nevertheless we might want to consider that the arrival of a certain form of triad in Xanthos perhaps predates the settlement of the Letoan triad in the Letoon *per se*. Evidence for this lies in Xanthos. There was a three room building of cultic purpose on the so-called Lycian acropolis in Xanthos,⁵⁶¹ and close to this site was an important Hellenistic temple perhaps for Artemis.⁵⁶² The presence of Artemis nearby later on, after the three room building was eventually disused, could indicate that the presence of a form of Anatolian triad of the form we tried to describe here above (cf. previous subchapter, there is occurrences of a mother and two children elsewhere in Anatolia) in the city *intra-muros* may have been a favorable factor for the introduction of Greek Artemis in the Lycian pantheon. The *intra-muros* temples of the classical period seem not to have been used in the Hellenistic period, replaced by the Letoon which had accepted Artemis as part of its pantheon. As long as

⁵⁵⁸ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, « Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie », *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.12.

⁵⁵⁹ METZGER, Henri, 1979 in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI : La stèle trilingue du Létôon*, p.24: statue base for Leto (first apparition of the goddess) by Arbinas: poem of Symmachos, erected in the honour of Leto (slightly before 375 BC); BRYCE, Trevor R., 1983, "The Arrival of the Goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.9.

⁵⁶⁰ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1983, "The Arrival of the Goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia* 32, p.1-13.

⁵⁶¹ METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963 in *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, p.29-36 (second half of the sixth century BC building have succeeded to and respected the shape of a prior installation); cf here above ch.1.i.

⁵⁶² METZGER, Henri and COUPEL, Pierre, 1963, *Fouilles de Xanthos II : L'Acropole Lycienne*, p.40-42 (fifth century BC, after 470 ?, a small hellenistic altar (mention of Ptolemy Epiphanes, 204-181 BC) dedicated to Artemis Ephesia was found just next to it), TAM II, 1, 263 (not *in situ*): building of a temple of Artemis in the same time that the altar and of a *agalma* by the *hegemon* who is an Aitolos, but has a Xanthian mother: TAM II 1, 264, 267-9.

Artemis was venerated in the Letoon the usefulness of the agora's Artemis place of worship was lesser. We might so far think that Artemis of the Letoon and the divinity worshipped on the agora of Xanthos are different entities even though they both became assimilated to the Greek Artemis. The only exception to the lack of Xanthian place of worship is the 'foundation' of an altar dedicated to Artemis Ephesia (built under the rule of Ptolemy Epiphanes) and of the temple to Artemis in Xanthos by Antiochos III,⁵⁶³ perhaps showing a revival of the cults of Artemis previously practised on the acropolis in the classical times. Anyhow the presence of the early triad may have been a way in the local religious minds for the Greek Letoan triad.

Nevertheless Artemis seems to appear in the Xanthian pantheon in the second half of the fifth century. She is combined with the Eliyanna to confer glory upon Arbinas' father, Kheriga, in the Symmachos' poem.⁵⁶⁴ She may at first have been a simple import of a Greek divinity with no local divinity to be assimilated to.⁵⁶⁵ Nevertheless she received a strong local coloration, something that the Lycians tended to do, by giving a local definition to their divinities: the Mother-Goddess is the one from this precinct (*eni qlahi ebiyehi*), Athena is the regional Maliya (*Maliya wedrennehi*),⁵⁶⁶ *Trqqas*/Zeus is *Thrqnti pddatahi* in Xanthos.⁵⁶⁷ So Artemis could simply have been adapted to a different local context. The Letoon's Artemis could well have been a name given to a pre-existing sort of cult, maybe associated to natural elements,⁵⁶⁸ practised early on in the Letoon as the reverence to the spring, the rock filling of the temple of Artemis and the presence of an sacred grove of unknown location within the sanctuary seem to indicate. This cult was connected with the cult of the mother of the spring. In Xanthos itself she may have been brought as the main divinity of a pre-existing Luwian triad brought by the Luwians in the first centuries of the urban development of the Lycian cities. This, in my point of view, had little impact on the spring sanctuary; the cult may have existed there before the Luwian revolution. The settlement of a form of Anatolian triad in Lycia and in Xanthos may have favoured the introduction of these divinities in the Letoon much later on. The idea of some triadic cults

⁵⁶³ TAM II 1, 263.

⁵⁶⁴ SEG XXXIX, 1414.53; BOUSQUET, Jean, 1992, « Les inscriptions gréco-lyciennes », in *Fouilles de Xanthos* IX, B.33 (circa. 440 BC).

⁵⁶⁵ LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1980, « Les dieux de la Lycie classique d'après les textes lyciens », *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique*, Volume 27 of Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, Paris, p.5.

⁵⁶⁶ TL 149 and 150.

⁵⁶⁷ TL 44h, 51-52.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2009, "From Elyanas to Leto : The physical evolution of the sanctuary of Leto at Xanthos", in GATES, Charles, MORIN, Jacques and ZIMMERMANN, Thomas, *Sacred landscapes in Anatolia and neighboring regions*, Oxford, p.63-67 : the primitive cult probably was centred on the spring and the rock above as indicated by the presence of Attic ceramic sherds of high quality in the filling of the later fifth century temple.

may have taken roots in Lycian collective religious psyche very early on in the presence in Southern Anatolia of primitive triad.

Indeed, if Artemis was part of the primitive triad, her name and nature would have been known from the Xanthians for a long-time. Like in Ephesus, she would have been present as the main cult of the city beside the Xanthian attachment to their sacred spring's divinities. But in the fourth century when for various reasons Greek Leto was assimilated, and not Artemis, to the main Letoon's mother goddess (maybe because of Greek Leto's maternal aspects and her legends with springs) the cult of Artemis became associated with the one of her mother in the Letoon. This presence of Artemis in what was at that time the almost exclusive place of worship inside the walls of Xanthos may have provoked a resurgence of the cult of the pan-Luwian Mother-Goddess within the city itself which was not the same one at the spring, in the form of Artemis, form she assumes in many places (e.g. Ephesus, Sardis...) but not in the Letoon. So Artemis could have been in Xanthos prior to the end to the end of the fifth at the head of an old Anatolian triad. The assimilation of Leto with the Mother-Goddess might have triggered the revival of the cult inside the walls of Xanthos.

Artemis is indeed attested in Lycian inscriptions where she is given the name *Erteme/i-*. Arbinas gives her some prominence on the inscriptions on his statue base,⁵⁶⁹ where she is linked with the Nymphs. Later she appears elsewhere in Lycia in inscriptions from Telmessos⁵⁷⁰ and a votive inscription from Trysa. The general assumption is, based on the correspondence between the Lycian and Greek versions of her name, that she was an import. However the Lydian goddess worshipped in Ephesus, amongst other places, was as far as Lydian people are concerned called *Artimu*, so it is possible that this goddess entered Lycian religion through an Anatolian route. She effectively became an aspect of the *annis massanassis* in Xanthos and its daughter in the Letoon.⁵⁷¹ This could be linked with a cult of the rock which surprisingly fills the whole interior of her temple on the site of the Letoon, startling detail that was kept even in the second century reconstruction of the temples (cf. fig.19). This rock might have assumed some religious significance in conjunction with one of the natural aspect of the Letoon's *eni mahanahi*. We have indeed stated our strong presumption that the cult of the local Mother-Goddess may have found its source into the Letoon's spring which the early archaeological evidence seems to suggest and that the cults may have borne some very strong aspects of peculiar nature's venerations. In Xanthos, the Tymnesians and Kandybeans altars are probably for Aphrodite of Tymnessos and Aphrodite

⁵⁶⁹ SEG XXXIX, 1414.53.

⁵⁷⁰ TAM II 1.37, 2.18 and TAM II 4 for a dedication.

⁵⁷¹ KEEN, Antony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with foreign powers, c. 545-362 BC*, Leiden, p.200 .

of Kandyba,⁵⁷² as for Artemis in the Letoon, the altar for Artemis Kombike (of Komba), have parallels in Telmessos, Kekova and Castellorizo.⁵⁷³ It is therefore possible that the introduction of Leto in the Xanthos spring's sanctuary through assimilation with the Mother-Goddess may have bring her offspring alongside her. The Mother-Goddess possessed different natural aspects, of which the spring was the major one, personified into auxiliary divinities with which Apollo and Artemis more or less matched. The early presence of an archaic form of Artemis in Xanthos may have favoured such syncretism. It would not be the first time that Anatolian religious consciousness has shown real flexibility towards the Greek pantheon and that the processes of assimilations between Greek and local divinities have taken unexpected routes.

Maybe the onomastic is a better way of understanding how Artemis was introduced into the Lycian religious pantheon. This discussion of onomastics builds mainly on the research of Stephen Colvin and Louis Robert, whose work has interesting implications for our understanding of the introduction of Artemis into Lycia which seems to have had an heavy impact early on. The question of the Artemis derivatives in this area of Asia Minor is a knotty one. There is an indigenous name found in Greek transcriptions that seems to be *Artima-*. It is not found in its simple form in the Lycian language but the compound *Erttimeli*, which is found in the Letoon Trilingual Inscription (NLI 320.5, *Ἀρτηλιν* in the Greek version) may be influence by *Ertemi*, the name of the goddess Artemis (NLI 312, Letoon, IV: Melchert: *-rtt-* in *Erttimeli* might point to a native word). A similar-sounding Persian name complicates things (Anabasis: 7.8.25: there is a mention of a Lycian archon named *Ἀρτίμας* who is an agent of Persia and figures in a list of regents but this is possibly inaccurate). The Lycian *Ἀρτ(ε)ίμας* is a masculine name, given that the simple form Artemis in Greek is a female name (through the compound *Ἀρτεμίδωπος* may apply to men). There is no possibility that either of the languages borrowed from the other. There is no independent evidence for an indigenous deity with a comparable designation.⁵⁷⁴

There are 21 male-names derivatives of Artemis (*Artemas*, *Artemns*, *Artemwn*, and *Artemidwpos*) and one instance of Artemis. It has been rejected that this was due to some sounding affinities with a Lycian familiar name.⁵⁷⁵ However, there might be a phonetic

⁵⁷² NEUMANN, Günter, 1983, "Zur Erschliessung des Lykischen", in *Le lingue indoeuropee di frammentaria attestazione, Die indogermanischen Restsprachen, Atti del Convegno della Società Italiana di Glottologia e della Indogermanische Gesellschaft (Udine, 22-24 settembre 1981)*, Pisa, p.147-150.

⁵⁷³ BALLAND, André, 1981, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VII: inscriptions grecques d'époque impériale du Létôon*, p.19-20.

⁵⁷⁴ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.60.

⁵⁷⁵ ROBERT, Louis, 1963, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris, p.80-3; with

parallel that might have promoted the name of the goddess in masculine names. Men with the Lycian name *Artimas* may have translated it into the Greek *Artemas* for the purpose of civic business and epigraphic record. Except for *Artemns* (only one instance in Rhodes, probably related with Asia Minor), the other names are fairly common in Greece (*Artemwn*, *Artemidwros*: over 100 instances in Athens, *Artemas*: fewer than twenty five occurrences starting with the Roman period). Unlike the Apollo derivatives, equally spread over the Hellenistic and Late Hellenistic periods, the Artemis derivatives are increasing spectacularly in the later period (over 80% of the occurrences).⁵⁷⁶

This success of Artemis theophoric names is largely based on the similarity between a Greek divinity and a Lycian name, which could well be based on a Luwian divinity, *Arma-*, the moon goddess (cf. Ch.3.iv). The Lycian form of the noun is only found in one example of Limyra, *Ermenneni*.⁵⁷⁷ Greek names in *herm-* are represented by forty four occurrences of thirteen types of which two thirds are from Hellenistic times and one third from the later period. Hermias and Hermon are fairly common in Athens and Rhodes, Hermaphilos, Hermaphantes and Hermoleon). There are thirty seven occurrences (of nineteen types) of Lycian names, of which 38% are coming from the earlier period. There is a slight fluctuation in rendering the first vowel in Greek: in six instances (of five types) a name is found written *Arm-* and *Erm-*. The number of *Erm-* names in Lycia points to the conclusion that the occurrence of both Greek and Lycian types in father-son and grandfather-grandson is indicative of a perceived connection between the two (thus Hermaios son of Armedumnos (TAM II 168.a43), Hermokrates son of Ermatoboris (TAM II 550.20), etc.).⁵⁷⁸ Whether the theophoric names are based on local divinities or not, the adoption of Greek names based on Artemis seems to have known a significant success in Lycia, and this early on, which could imply that there already was a local base for those names to be adopted. The early presence of Artemis in Lycia may well be a reason for this.

In the second century, the newly liberated city of Xanthos and Lycian *koinon* decided to give a more Hellenic character to their sanctuary, which already contained cults of largely Hellenised divinities. The fourth century aspects of the temples might have shocked the Letoan, Artemisian or Apollinian pilgrim. The Lycian economic situation being in a complete renaissance in those post-167 years, we can assume that the construction of the

Zgusta, Ladislav, 1964, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prague, except for the *Arteimeis* daughter of *Arteimas* in Termessos.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷ TL 121.4; LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1951, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite*, Paris, p.145 and 147; ROBERT, Louis, 1963, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine*, Paris, p.38-9.

⁵⁷⁸ COLVIN, Stephen, 2004, "Names in Hellenistic and Roman Lycia" in COLVIN, Stephen (ed), *The Greco-Roman East: Politics, Culture, Society*, Yale Classical Studies 31, Cambridge, p.62.

three temples was decided more or less at the same time, in voluntary policy of renewing the entire sanctuary, the new seat of Lycian newly recovered independence, though the immensity of the task was spread over the second century. The temple of Leto might be dated back to 175-150 BC while the temples of Apollo and Artemis would rather be dated back to the 150-100 BC period.

In a rather unusual fashion, the new temples are built on not only the former temples' substructures, but also are incorporating large features, if not the entirety, of their fourth century predecessors.⁵⁷⁹ Those were kept not intact but at least visible and recognizable by visitors, to the point that the Hellenistic temple is simply a jewel case in which the former cultic installation is preserved. But this does not apply to the case of the temple of Artemis as not much remains from the first temple, though it presents a rather peculiar originality. We stated before that the Hellenistic *cella* is entirely filled with a resurgence of the natural rock, hewed vertically on the long sides, the back and the top, giving the shape of pedestal for a symbol or statue of which nothing has survived.⁵⁸⁰ Therefore the *cella* is a fully occupied volume, inaccessible and as far as we know no similar installations is yet known in the Greek world.

The conservatism in the appearance of the cult-spaces is a stunning feature of the Letoon. It is the substantiation that the cults of the sanctuary are still carrying the memories of their Luwian pasts even through the Hellenistic period even if the characteristic of those cults are difficult to understand from a Greek point of view. The conservation of ancient structures, in which the cults are performed, is the condition for the assembly of believers to keep track and to keep alive the memory of a common ancient identity. The monuments of the Letoon, and especially the temples and the spring, are in fact the proof of this. In a time when their world tends to standardise, the conservation of elements of the ancestral cults gives the sense of belonging to a community with some distinctive history and beliefs.⁵⁸¹ In this case Artemis of the Letoon is not the Greek Artemis but a personification of an attribute of the Xanthian Mother-Goddess or simply the assimilation of an auxiliary divinity linked with the divinity, the same way the Nymphs were assimilated with the Eliyanna.

We should therefore try to study the case of Apollo to complete the understanding of the development of the Letoon's triad, and as we should see its case is far different from the presence of Artemis in the Letoon.

⁵⁷⁹ DES COURTILS, Jacques, 2001, "Xanthos et le Letoon au II^e siècle a.C." in BRESSON, Alain and DESCAT, Raymond (ed), *Les cités d'Asie mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Paris.

⁵⁸⁰ LE ROY, Christian, 2004, "Lieux de Mémoire en Lycie", *Cahiers du centre Glotz* 15, p.14.

⁵⁸¹ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, "Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue Archéologique*, p.341-351.

iii-Apollo:

The triad Leto, Apollo, Artemis was therefore formed,⁵⁸² and was firmly settled within the Letoon by the middle of the fourth century when the Trilingual Inscription was inscribed. Apollo apparently does not appear before the fourth century. In the Trilingual Inscription, Apollo and Artemis are not explicitly mentioned, and, despite this late arrival, by the Roman imperial times they have become the *theoi patrooi* of Lycia and legends are attesting the birth of Artemis and Apollo in the Letoon. Apollo becomes especially important from the moment it seems to supplant the Mother-Goddess as the main and symbolic divinity of the city of Xanthos sometime during the Hellenistic times.

But the arrival of Apollo in Lycia had been forged earlier. Indeed Bryce⁵⁸³ thinks that the Rhodian trade colonisation of the Xanthos valley may have started in the seventh century in Patara, where they would have introduced the image of Apollo in a local oracular sanctuary. We know that Apollo became the Lycian *Natri* through the theophoric name Apollodotos/*Natrbbiyemi*, in the Trilingual Inscription (1.3-4).⁵⁸⁴

Furthermore, although the Asiatic origin of Apollo has been convincingly denied by Burkert,⁵⁸⁵ the ancient literature linking Apollo with Lycia cannot be completely ignored. Homeric tradition shows Apollo linked with Sarpedon, Glaucos and Pandaros that Homer cites as Lycian heroes. Moreover Lycia is presented by the poet as one of the god's residences along with Troy, proving that by the end of the eighth century, the god was well associated with Lycia in the Greek imagination even though this does not prove the presence of an actual cult in Lycia.⁵⁸⁶ But at least the Greek Apollo was well-connected with the *Lukka* people and province, which, as we said before, colonized Lycia. The Greek religious

⁵⁸² METZGER, Henri, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos, VI : La stèle trilingue du Létœon*, p.24: statue base for Leto (first apparition of the goddess) by Arbinas: poem of Symmachos, erected in the honour of Leto (slightly before 375 BC); BRYCE, Trevor R., 1983, "The arrival of the goddess Leto in Lycia", *Historia*, p.9.

⁵⁸³ BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.41; the numismatics seems to support Bryce hypothesis: cf. VISMARA, Nicola, 2002, "Evidenze religiose sulla monetazione arcaica della Lycia, Elementi per una prima discussione", *Transeuthratène* 23, p.121-122.

⁵⁸⁴ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, « Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérées au Létœon de Xanthos », in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposions, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.240.

⁵⁸⁵ BURKERT, Walter, 1975, "Apollo", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, p.1-35.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. FREI, Peter, 1990, "Geschichte Lykiens im Altertum" in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen ed (ed)., *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien, Katalog zur Ausstellung auf der Schallaburg, 28. April - 4. Nov. 1990*, Wien, p.8, about the Greek etymological confusion between Apollo Lykeios and Apollo Lykios, which doesn't mean any primitive connection of Apollo with Lycia ; Dionysos was in the same case, Greek divinity since at least the Mycenians which acquired an oriental tradition under the archaic and the classical periods.

minds have very early integrated the idea that Apollo had a genuine link with Lycia. But, so far, it does not appear that the Lycian sources are claiming Apollo's birth for their own country prior to the Hellenistic period (the first one we know of being the embassy of Xanthos to the Kytēnians of Doride).⁵⁸⁷

The oracles of Patara, Kyaneai and Sura are not an accurate proof of an early presence of Apollo in Lycia as they have nothing Apollinian in genre so to speak, and are simply local divinity identified with Apollo.⁵⁸⁸ As in Xanthos, Apollo Thyrxeus is translated in *Natri Turaxssali*.⁵⁸⁹ Thus the Lycian had his own semantic with the word *mahinaza* meaning "devin" (seer) or "prophète".⁵⁹⁰ The mythical implantation of Apollo in Lycia should not hide its practical establishment : if the first one was effective at the end of Dark Ages and was known to Homer, the latter was surely posterior, and was based on the assimilation with local manifestations of the Lycian *Natri*, surely with oracular attributes.⁵⁹¹

Homer gives twice the epithet *λυκηγενής* to Apollo, which may or may not mean 'born in Lycia'. It is possible that the association of Apollo with wolves and the inclusion of wolves in the story of Leto's giving birth to Apollo and Artemis⁵⁹² came after the association with Lycia rather than before. Whatever the real explanation of Apollo's link with Lycia in Greek tradition, it is indubitable that this link must have been meaningful. Bryce accepts that there was a common perception in Greek minds that Apollo was associated with Lycia, but denies that this is evidence for any actual cult of Apollo in Lycia, though accepting the partiality of this judgment. The problem of the association of the name *Natrbbijemi* with Apollodotos in the Trilingual Inscription is that it seems to be a translation of the name rather than a transcription. Though this is no proof of the existence of a divinity called *Natr-* which is unattested elsewhere apart from two references in the Inscribed Pillar.⁵⁹³ Therefore, the possible relation of *Natri* with the Egyptian word *ntr* which was their word for 'god' is significant. We know the Lukka had some contact with the Egyptians at least as early as the late second millennium BC. Indeed the name Apollodotos was translated in such a way as to

⁵⁸⁷ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1988, « La stèle des Kytēniens au Letoon de Xanthos », *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 101, p.12-53 and especially p.30.

⁵⁸⁸ PARKE, Herbert William, 1985, *The oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London, p.197.

⁵⁸⁹ NEUMANN, Günter, 1979, "Namen und Epiklesen Lykischer Götter", in *Florilegium Anatolicum ; Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche*, p.259-271.

⁵⁹⁰ TL 133; LAROCHE, Emmanuel, 1979, in *Fouilles de Xanthos VI*, p.99; BRYCE, Trevor R., 1986, *A Study of Lycian History and Civilisation to the Conquest of Alexander the Great, Vol. 1: The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources*, p.132.

⁵⁹¹ LE ROY, Christian, 1993, "Aspects grecs et anatoliens des divinités vénérées au Létôon de Xanthos" in BORCHHARDT, Jürgen and DOBESCH, Gerhard (ed), *Akten des II. internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6.-12. Mai 1990, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Wien, ETAM 17, p.241 ss.

⁵⁹² Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 580a, 6.35; Antoninus Liberalis, *Met.* 35.

⁵⁹³ TL 44.c.33, 48.

make it the equivalent of 'Theodotos'. The Lycian word *Natr-* would then simply be a generic term for god, synonymous of the already known *mahana-*.⁵⁹⁴ Moreover it is possible that this *Natrbbijemi*, archon of Lycia for the Carian satrap Pixodaros, was not a native Lycian or Greek but a Carian. *Natrbbijemi* could be the Lycian transcription of a Carian name.⁵⁹⁵

In the *cella* of the temple of Apollo is the basis, in soft stones, of the first temple from which the wooden or bricks superstructure has disappeared, the emplacement of the Hellenistic *pronaos* contained a mosaic of the third century BC (picturing a lyre and a bow with its quiver).⁵⁹⁶ Like in the case of Leto, it does not seem like the superstructure has been kept within the Hellenistic temple of Apollo (cf. fig. 20 and 21).

It is during the Hellenistic period that Apollo starts assuming an important role. A short summary of a decree was found in Xanthos which attests that Antiochos III, who ruled Lycia from 197 BC,⁵⁹⁷ consecrated the entire city to the Letoan triad.⁵⁹⁸ There is a direct link of blood relationship between the Xanthians and Antiochos, Apollo being the tutelary divinity of the Seleucids.⁵⁹⁹ We know from a decree of *isopolitia* between Myra and Xanthos (circa 167/6-160) that the priest of Apollo was at that time the first eponymous of the city. The status of Apollo as the main divinity of the city itself is therefore attested by the coinage (cf. fig.22).⁶⁰⁰ That is the period when seemingly Apollo becomes the prominent deity of the city in civic context. The priest of Apollo is the first eponymous in the treaty of *isopolitia* with Myra (160s) and the city's coinage is largely dominated by the latter divinity, in a very Greek way, while Leto is completely absent.⁶⁰¹ Christian Le Roy sees there the confirmation of the fundamental separation between imported Greek on the first hand and indigenous divinities receiving a Greek appellation on the other.⁶⁰² Though such phenomenon exists

⁵⁹⁴ Cf. for all this study: KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.198-200 ; also see BROWN, Edwin L., 2004, "In search of Anatolian Apollo", in *XAPIΣ: Essays in Honor of Sara A. Immerwahr, Hesperia supplement* 33, p.245.

⁵⁹⁵ KEEN, Anthony G., 1998, *Dynastic Lycia: Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c.545-362 B.C.*, New York, p.200.

⁵⁹⁶ LE ROY, Christian, 1991, "Le développement monumental du Létôon de Xanthos", *Revue Archéologique*, p.348.

⁵⁹⁷ MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.82-84.

⁵⁹⁸ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108; about 197 BC.

⁵⁹⁹ TAM II, 266; MA, John, 1999, *Antiochos III and the cities of Western Asia Minor*, Oxford, p.323-324, n.22.

⁶⁰⁰ MA, John, 2000, "The epigraphy of Hellenistic Asia Minor : a survey of recent research (1992-1999)", *American Journal of Archaeology* 104, p.108.

⁶⁰¹ Ibid.

⁶⁰² LE ROY, Christian, 1990, Die Religion der Lykier, in BORCHHARDT, Jurgen (ed), *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien, Katalog zur Ausstellung auf der Schallaburg, 28. April - 4. Nov. 1990*, Wien, p.41-

elsewhere in southern Anatolia like in Cilicia, and this is not always so obvious. We are talking of late coinage, which has been influenced by the Ptolemaic, Seleucid and Rhodian coins' iconography. Therefore this numismatic iconography has little value in terms of religious significance, especially for Xanthos which has shown so much commitment for the several dynasties and in many cases the coinage is not the place to express religious conservatism.

From the alliance of the Lycian League with Antiochos in 197 BC to the 'provincialisation' of the region by Claudius (43 AD), it mints coins with, and this almost exclusively, Apollo and the cithara in a very Hellenistic fashion. We have to say that the general absence of Leto on the coinage, especially in Xanthos, is puzzling.⁶⁰³ She is clearly the dominant divinity in the Letoon and a pan-Lycian goddess, second to none in the Xanthian pantheon and so at least before the invasion of Antiochos, but this latter may have favoured Apollo as his 'ancestor'. The locals may also have put forward their connection with Apollo as a way of getting privileges from the Seleucid king. It is possible that the cult of the Mother-Goddess never really achieves in cultic practice a complete assimilation to the Greek Leto, which is a minor divinity in the Greek pantheon, and therefore was not appropriate for one of the Lycian *koinon* cities' coinages. Apollo was therefore a much better figure in that purpose. The cult of Apollo may have supplanted the cult of Leto as the image of a more integrated and Hellenised Lycia. Leto is moreover not a common theme for Greek iconography even less in a numismatic context. In this the fact that the Hellenistic temple of Apollo in the Letoon is of a mildly less importance than Leto's is significant. The cult of Leto remained at least until the end of the second century as the major cult of Xanthos and the Letoon, though the situation may have change progressively in favour of Apollo, mainly for political reasons.

In this the developed figure of Apollo, which I think represented only one aspect, as were the Eliyanna of the spring, of a very complex and very local cult of the Mother-Goddess, might have been far less difficult to deal with in an increasingly Hellenised context. Apollo had a wide range of very well-known iconographic theme and Leto had very little reputation in the Greek world. Apollo in that way was a better emissary for the recognition of Lycia within the Hellenistic and Roman world.

So it is possible that the introduction of Leto in the Xanthos spring's sanctuary through the assimilation with the Mother-Goddess may have brought her offspring alongside with her.

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⁶⁰³ Ibid. : Leto appears on the coinage of the Lycian League but only in Roman times with her two children, an almost "dynastic" image ; maybe then in this late period the taboos surrounding the Mother-Goddess are obsolete.

The Mother-Goddess possessed different natural aspects, among which the waters of the springs was the major one, personified into auxiliary divinities with which Apollo and Artemis more or less matched. Anatolian religious consciences have shown real flexibility elsewhere. In Cilicia, Tarhunt became Zeus. In Ephesus, the Mother-Goddess became Artemis as did she in Sardis. What makes the Lycian/Xanthian Mother-Goddess unique in that sense is that she kept characteristics which are very odd in an Hellenic context for a very long time after the region was absorbed into the Greek cultural world. Only the fact that Leto, a rather ignored and minor divinity of the Greek pantheon, was the chosen goddess to make the assimilation is an unusual feature. Maybe some mythical parallels made the assimilation the more likely one. Maybe it is the link of Leto with her children Apollo and Artemis which was the primary factor. Linguistics might also have been one of the criteria. Indeed it might well be that all of those reasons are true and that a concordance between Leto's name, myths and rather low profile and the nature of the Mother-Goddess made her the best feat. Certainly it was not the natural attributes (the Eliyanna, the strange rock of Artemis) of the Xanthian Mother-Goddess which triggered this assimilation. The maternity of Leto and the triad she forms with her children might also have been an encouraging factor. The early adoption of Artemis (and maybe of Apollo) may have been the reason why Leto was used as the matching piece for the Lycian/Luwian Mother-Goddess and its association with an early Anatolian form of divine triad might be the missing link for explaining how a very local spring cult became the support for the adoption of the Letoan triad in Lycia.

The mythical reconstruction of Lycian history, recalling the *Iliad* references to an Homeric Lycia, was initiated under Gergis and Arbinas reigns (circa. 430-380) to try to find in Greek mythology a nobler Hellenic past, probably needed in a region where Greek culture was more and more present and where the Greek world's political influence was also growing. This reconstruction was accompanied by the assimilation of indigenous cults with Greek divinities, Tarqqas-Zeus, Maliya-Athena and possibly Natri-Apollo.

For those of the gods typically Caro-Lycian adopted during the Hekatomnids' rule over Lycia (as the *basileus kaunios* and Arkesimas of the Trilingual Inscription) we will know nothing because of this progressive rejection of Lycian indigenous history.⁶⁰⁴ This latter is progressively replaced by a mix of indigenous legends and Greek mythology. The result is the apparition of a distinctive Lycian culture where ancestral religion and myths find their place in a new local/Hellenic form of culture. The Menekrates' version of the legend of Leto is such a mix between Greek myths and local legends.

⁶⁰⁴ BOUSQUET, Jean, 1988, "La stèle des Kytèniens au Letoon de Xanthos", *Revue des Etudes Grecques* 101, p.38.

Later on, during the Hellenistic-Roman period, the residual survival of the earlier place of rituals into the new Hellenistic ones seems to indicate a reluctance from the Lycians to eradicate their religious and cultural heritage. As seems to be the very odd way of not using the name and the image of their main divinity, even after the adoption by this latter of a Greek divine name. Her absence of iconographic appearances is telling. Meanwhile the indigenous theophoric names based on other divinities' names have survived well into Greco-Roman era. The reasons for such behaviour might be found in ancestral traditions which have survived the apparent Hellenisation of the cults. We might then ask ourselves if the rituals and substance of the divinities worshipped in the Letoon have kept their indigenous natures through the centuries of Persian rule and Greek cultural influence. What we see here is that religion and culture are connected in their evolution. The cults are changing while the native population is shifting towards a foreign cultural sphere. There is a certain degree of wilful adoption of foreign artefacts and artistic trends, but it seems that the native population safeguard a part of their ancestral culture through their divinities, their tombs, their names, things which in the end matter the most for an individual.

Conclusion:

In this thesis I have hopefully shown that Xanthos was part of the common pattern of Persian interactions with their provinces. Using mainly Sardis, and Elspeth Dusinger's works on the Lydian capital, as the primary example of the Persian attitude towards the satrapies of Asia Minor, we can see that the imperial efforts to include their new provinces consisted mainly of an assimilation of the native elite within a new ethnically mixed elite. This new aristocracy was the main factor towards adopting a new culture where Persian and local cultural elements were merged into a new local form of imperial civilisation. The assimilation of the indigenous elite and culture into new local structures was the trademark of the Persian empire. By doing so, the Persian empire was gently insinuating its own values and way of life, without having to enforce them. These new ethnically mixed local elites were the vessel of the new culture towards the lower social layers of the population.

The satrapies were therefore unique in their culture but connected through a number of Persian imperial common grounds and cultural similarities. Each province of the empire were therefore distinctive but united together through cultural and political bonds. This concerned also the wide usage by the population of Achaemenid Sardis of elitist Persian artefacts and Persian standards of architecture and iconography, symbols of the belonging of the new elite to the empire. Persian artefacts and cultural elements penetrated the whole society as the lower classes also adopted Persian ceramics and names. Some Persian immigrants of non-elite status also settled in the city and its rural surroundings, bringing some of their cults and culture with them. The result was a society where different cultures and ethnicities became obsolete, the indigenous and Persian elements were merged into a single culture in which Persian elements were a mark of loyalty and affiliation to the Persepolitan Great Kings and their empire. Cosmopolitanism was, therefore, a chosen feature of Achaemenid Sardis. This moreover including Greek elements. From the fifth century onward especially, Greek artists and artisans became a genuine part of the society of the satrapal capital bringing their contributions to the new cultural and societal mix.

Xanthos and Lycia, from their peculiar point of view, were not so different from in that sense. Following the campaigns of Harpagus in Lycia, the Xanthian population was almost wiped out and the few families which survived were probably the highest classes of its pre-Achaemenid society. The Persians would have therefore repopulated the city with some population of their own and some Lycian populations, perhaps outside Xanthos. Such Persian presence is attested in the direct lineage claimed by the dynasts of Xanthos. The formation of a mixed elite between native aristocrats and Persian individuals was probably as true in Xanthos as it was in Sardis. The partly Persian dynasts, and most probably their

courts, were asserting their authority by choosing to incorporate Persian artistic and cultural elements into their artefacts. The ceramics and elitist artefacts, such as seals or luxury items, are not as present in Xanthos than in Sardis, but the iconography, architecture, coinage and epigraphy show a wide usage of Persian artistic standards and symbols of power by the Xanthian and western Lycian elite. The dynasts were surely attempting to show themselves as equivalent to some satraps of Lycia. Nevertheless, for most of the fifth century, the indigenous features remained the most evident cultural feature of the new Lycian culture. The native culture, mostly of Luwian substrate, seems to have survived unscathed. The Persian cultural elements were the reality of the limited elite a town of limited size like Xanthos could have sustained.

In the fourth century the Lycian culture was at a turning point. The most famous of the western Lycian dynast, Arbinas, produced a number of inscriptions and monuments, among which the temples of the Letoon, which showed a great interest for Greek culture while bearing the signs of indigenous pride as well as marks of loyalty to the Persian empire. The rise and demise of Perikles of Limyra only strengthen this attraction for Greek culture as did the subsequent Hekatomnid rule of Lycia, as is shown on the Trilingual Inscription where the Greek and Lycian versions on the stele bear apparently the same value for the inscribers. The number of Greek inscriptions in Lycia and in Xanthos, mainly on burials, multiplies as do the number of Greek names. However, this new cultural impetus does not mean the end of the native culture despite the disappearance of the inscriptions in the native language. On the contrary, the Hellenic influence is assimilated into the Lycian culture. The new buildings of the Letoon bear these signs of merged cultures. Significantly the temples, the most symbolic buildings of the sanctuary, are also the ones whose architecture include the most native Lycian architectural elements. The presence in the sanctuary of the administrative buildings built on Persian standards of architecture shows that the Persian culture was an ever present feature of the administrative elite. The religious faith of the population in general might however have turned towards other sources of inspiration.

Nevertheless, the adoption of Greek artistic and architectural elements, as well as the expansion of the usage of the Greek language, does not hide the fact that the indigenous Lycian culture survives through the whole Achaemenid period. It is during the fourth century that the Letoon becomes a sanctuary of great dimension and the divinities venerated within its perimeter receive Greek names, Leto, Artemis, Apollo and the Nymphs. Yet, these names are in fact the recipient for the indigenous cults centred around the Lycian Mother-Goddess *eni mahanahi*. The Lycian Mother-Goddess is there in the Letoon centred around a spring which has its own divinities and a rock filling the temple of Artemis seems to have had a peculiar resonance in local minds. These aspects of the cults of the Letoon survived

through the Hellenistic period. When the temples were rebuilt in a more Hellenic fashion in the second century, they carefully safeguard their predecessors as well as the natural aspects of the cults.

My conclusions are that, through these natural elements brought out by the monumental structures of the Letoon, local minds are still venerating the ancestral divinities of nature around a sacred spring that might have been worshipped even before the arrival of the Luwians who brought their Mother-Goddess, *annis massanassis*, in their baggage. The local minds, despite the evidence for Persian and Greek influence never seem to have forgotten their ancestral divinities and the successive improvements of the sanctuary had been made according to these beliefs.

Religious faith is by essence the most sacred element of a nation's identity, and the cases of Lycia and Xanthos are no different. The Xanthians accepted the Persian and then Greek and Roman rules as they accepted parts of their culture, and, especially in the case of the Greeks, their religion. But in substance they kept the substance of their past culture and beliefs. The onomastic bears strong arguments in that sense. Not only did the indigenous names survived in number well into the Hellenistic era, they also respected traditions which seem to make sense only in an obscure Lycian cultural context. The most striking of these onomastic traditions is the absence of the usage of the main divinity, Leto and *eni mahanahi*, in the formation of personal names, by opposition of the wide usage of theophoric names based on other Lycian divinities' names and their Greek counterparts or of Lycian/Greek legendary heroes.

In this process of building of a new culture, where Persian and Greek elements were assimilated, the indigenous culture is ever present. It ultimately guided the artistic and personal choices of the Xanthian population. Names, architecture, coins motifs and, above all, cults are the marks of such choices. The Hellenic divinities were just shells for the ancestral ones. Religion was the ultimate recipient for their forefathers' culture. Accepting a superficial change such as giving a Greek name to their divinities is one thing the local population might easily have been accepted, especially in a context of wide Hellenisation of other aspects of the local culture. Yet changing the nature, the substance, the traditions and rituals surrounding their most venerated divinities might well have been too much to accept. In this respect, it is the Greek legends and myths which adapted to the local context, giving the Letoon a prominent place in the origins of Apollo and Artemis.

From this perspective, acculturation really is a two way street. The Lycian culture adopted Persian and mainly Greek cultural aspects during the Persian and Hellenistic eras, but the substance of it remained uniquely Lycian. As it was in Sardis, the result of the adaptation of

the local culture to foreign rule and cultural acculturation resulted in a unique outcome. Nonetheless, perhaps even more than in Sardis, the indigenous cultural features constituted the core of this new cultural deal and the native religion was the main container for the survival of the ancestral indigenous culture. The basis for the Lycian national identity was enclosed within the Letoon's walls and in the waters of its spring. The outstanding place of the Letoon within the Lycian koinon gives tribute to this perception.

Image appendix:



Fig.1: Map of Ancient Lycia

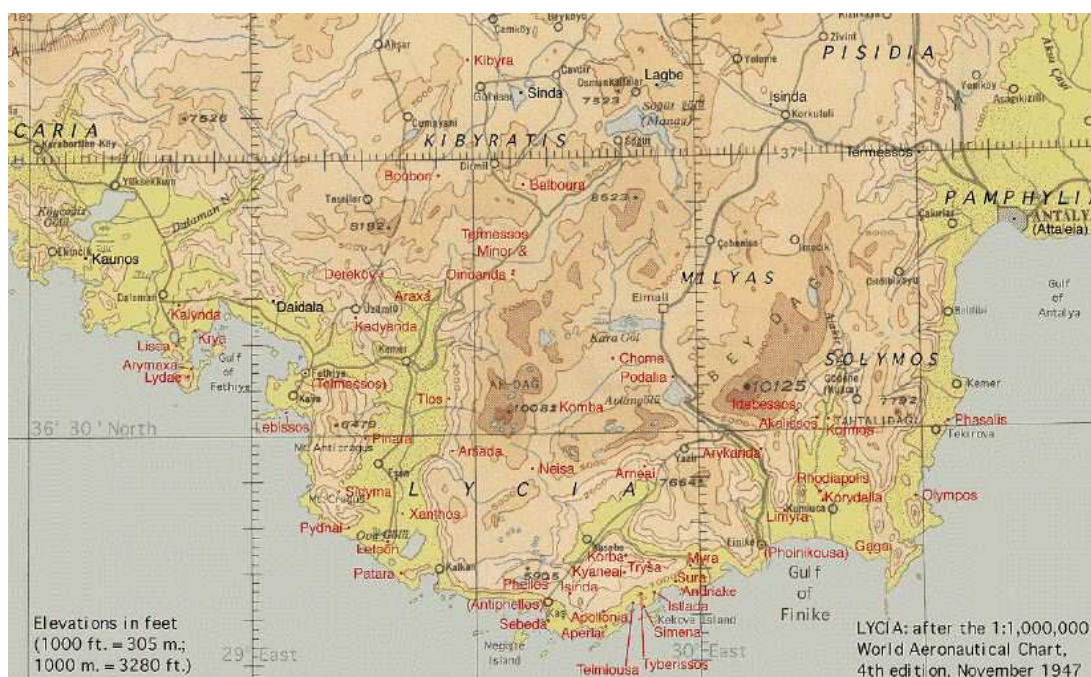


Fig. 2: Map of Ancient Lycia with reliefs



Fig.3: the 'Inscribed Pillar'



Fig.4 : the Letoon seen from the south



Fig. 5 : Map of the site of Xanthos from the archaeological team (as of the 2009 excavations plans)



Fig. 6 : One of the four reliefs of the Harpy tomb, now at the British Museum



Fig. 7 : coin of Kuprilli (SNG Von Aulock 8479)



Fig. 8 : Trilingual Stele's Aramaic text



Fig. 9 : the two larger sides of the Trilingual stele with the Lycian and Greek versions



Fig. 10 : Kherei's coin from Pinara (425-400 BC) where the bust of the dynast appears in tiara

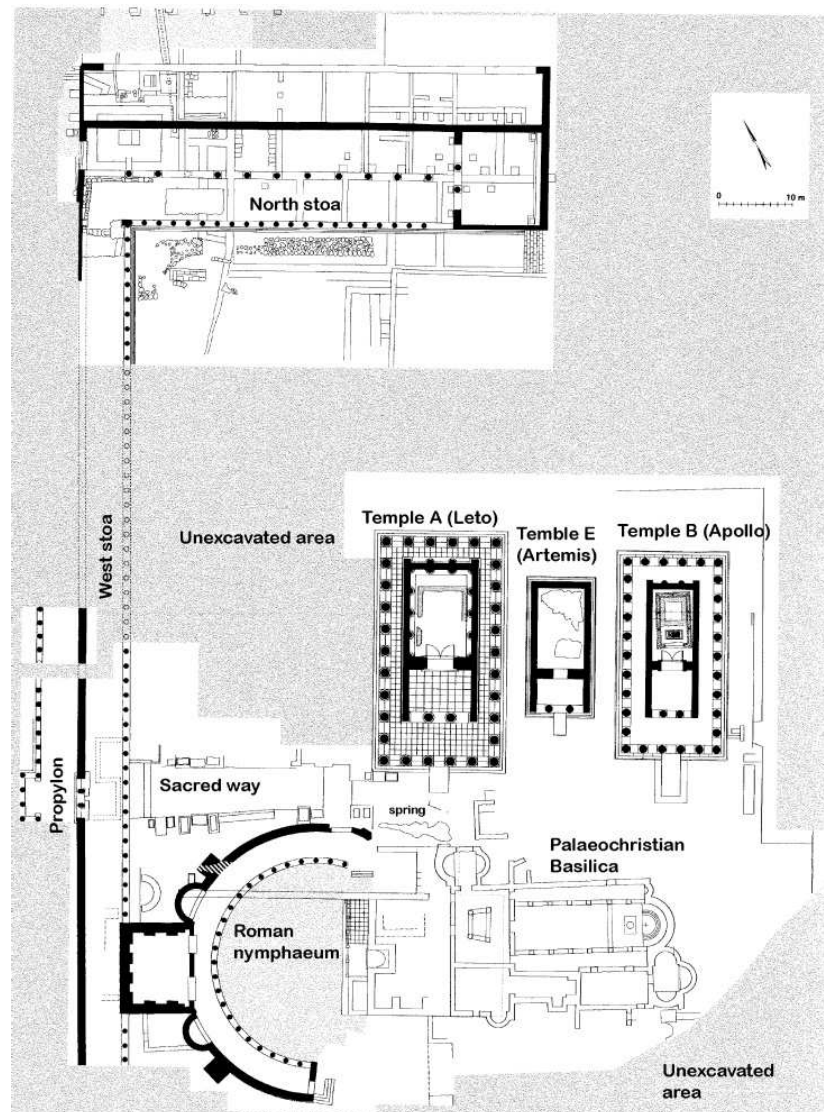


Fig. 11 : the site of the Letoon



Fig. 12 : Mosaic inside the temple of Apollo



Fig. 13 : the temple of Leto



Fig. 14 : The Nymphaeum of the Letoon



Fig. 15 : one of the reliefs of the Harpy Tomb in the British Museum



Fig. 16 : the Harpy Tomb in Xanthos with the casts of the original reliefs now in the British Museum



Fig. 17 : the so-called 'Dancing Women' sarcophagus



Fig. 18 : the Nereid Monument of Xanthos (now in the British Museum)



Fig. 19 : Temple of Artemis in the Letoon



Fig. 20 : the temple of Apollo between the temple of Artemis and the adjusted hill



Fig. 21 : The temple of Apollo in the Letoon



Fig. 22 : second century BC coin of the Lycian League in Xanthos, with figure of Apollo on the obverse, with the cithara on the other side which became the common pattern of the League (167-81 BC): TROXELL, Hyla, 1982, *The coinage of the Lycian League*, New York, p.41-5 ; the mint of Xanthos stops production in 81 BC)

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Post-scriptum :

Along the course of this thesis, a number of sections of the “Fouilles de Xanthos” have been cited :

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Abbreviations :

TAM = *Tituli Asiae Minoris*

TL = ‘*Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti*’ is another denomination for the 1st volume of the ‘*Tituli Asiae minoris*’

SEG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*

SNG Copenhagen = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Denmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum

SNG Von Aulock = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Deutschland, Sammlung Hans Von Aulock. (Berlin, 1957-1968)

BMC Lycia = HILL, George F., 1897, The Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Volume 19, *Lycia*, Pamphylia and Pisidia

LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*